LUTHERAN CHURCH MUSIC IN AMERICA DURING THE EIGHTEENTH AND EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURIES

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PREFACE

Lutherans have always been known as a singing church; their chorales and congregational singing were among the most important musical contributions of the Reformation. Not only has the Lutheran church promoted congregational singing, but from the time of Martin Luther himself church leaders have supported choirs, soloists, and instrumentalists under the philosophy that music is a gift from God which is intended to serve as a handmaid to theology. Thus, unlike some Protestant groups which have sought to restrict church music to simple hymnody and psalmody, the Lutheran church has embraced the whole of sacred music and has developed a liturgy which allows for both the professional musician as well as the layman to contribute to the worship of God through music and song.

When Lutheran emigration to America began to increase during the early eighteenth century, partly as a result of continual political and religious turmoil in Europe, it was only natural that the settlers and their pastors would bring with them the same love and respect for music as they had in the Old World. Of course, life in eighteenth-century America was not especially conducive to the cultivation of the arts, but it is sometimes surprising how much musical activity actually flourished at this time. Instead of relying upon professional musicians and polished recordings, early Americans had to provide their own music. Consequently, the percentage of amateur adult musicians was undoubtedly much higher in American society of that day than is true today, for an eighteenth-century lover of

music was invariably a participant in musical activity, rather than just a listener.

One of the most important influences of the Lutheran church upon the development of American music was the fact that the church helped to make music a valued and accepted part of everyday living. Instead of looking upon musical enjoyment as being the work of the devil, and thus following the example of various puritanical sects, the philosophy that music was a gift of God made musical activity not only an acceptable, but a desirable part of society itself. It is no coincidence that the first important centers of musical activity in America were in southeastern Pennsylvania, where the German Lutheran population was especially strong. Because music had an honored position in Pennsylvania-German society, other denominations, like the Moravians, also benefitted from this high regard for music. It seems unlikely, for example, that the musical culture of a Moravian settlement like Bethlehem would have been able to flourish in New England, where Puritan influence was dominant.

In view of the above statements, it is rather surprising that no one has ever undertaken a thorough study of the use of music in Lutheran worship in America during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Occasional articles, mainly by clergymen, have appeared in various church journals and sometimes in periodicals published by state and local historical societies, but a detailed, documented study has always remained lacking. In 1956 Carlton York Smith took a major step towards filling this lack by completing a doctoral dissertation in musicology at the University of Southern

California entitled, "Early Lutheran Hymnody in America from the Colonial Period to the Year 1850." Smith primarily restricted his work to hymnbooks, describing and comparing different editions, and concentrating upon official synodical publications rather than collections issued under individual sponsorship. He gave very little attention to the musical practices of the congregations themselves. Thus, despite the fact that Smith's dissertation represents a significant contribution to the history of Lutheran music in America, it by no means exhausts the subject. One of the aims of this present study is to complement Smith's work. Since he has already written an excellent analysis of the various hymnbooks and their respective editions, there is no point in repeating this material except where it is necessary to provide background information and continuity for our purposes. Instead, the present study concentrates upon musical practices of the American Lutheran churches as found in actual accounts of worship services and other records, an area which Smith barely touches and which is certainly very necessary for a true picture of Lutheran music in early America.

The first principal aim of this dissertation, therefore, is to record and evaluate as much information as possible about the position music held in Lutheran life in America before approximately 1825. This necessitates not only consideration of the largest and most important congregations, but also of other churches in areas with smaller Lutheran populations, such as Virginia, Maryland, Georgia, and North Carolina. For the sake of completeness it also requires that such a study begin with the very earliest records and accounts. Obviously one can not expect to find great musical

achievements among congregations that were struggling merely to exist, let alone promote the arts, but even small, rural churches with few resources must also be included in one's considerations if he intends to form a comprehensive picture. Moreover, it is inevitable that some day a history of Lutheran musical activities in America will be both desirable and necessary; this dissertation hopes to form part of the beginnings of such a history, and it is only appropriate that it should try to present as complete a picture as possible rather than concentrating only upon the largest and most important congregations.

A second primary aim of this dissertation is to put Lutheran musical activities into proper focus in relation to the history of American church music generally. The music of Lutheran congregations has been virtually ignored not only in the standard histories of American music, but even in more specialized works like Ellinwood's The History of American Church Music or Gerson's Music in Philadelphia. Gerson's study, for example, contains almost no references to the Lutherans, despite the fact that St. Michael's and Zion Congregation in Philadelphia was the largest church body in the city, owned one of America's most impressive pipe organs of that day, and maintained an active musical program both in its large parochial school as well as in its church choirs. Especially in Pennsylvania the Lutheran churches and their schools often provided musical leadership for the entire community, and surely any history of early American music which strives for accuracy and completeness should not fail to recognize the significance of such leadership.

The Lutherans were never content to accept makeshift devices like lining out the hymns. Lining out was used only in cases of necessity, and even rural congregations strived to put a hymnbook into the hands of each worshiper. Thanks to a strong system of parochial schools, most congregations were not limited to a knowledge of just a few hymns, but were able to sing hundreds of different hymns and hymn tunes. One of the primary aims of the church schools was to provide instruction in singing, and every child in the congregation who attended these schools was thus exposed to a considerable amount of music. Moreover, from at least the middle of the eighteenth century and possibly earlier, many Lutheran churches maintained regular choirs which not only led the congregational singing, but also presented anthems during the course of worship services. Organists, likewise, were expected to embellish the music with appropriate preludes and interludes during the singing of chorales, just as was done in Germany. Sometimes records indicate that congregations were not content to sing only the melody, but sang in harmony in addition to embellishing the performance with various alternation procedures among the choir, congregation, and soloists. Contrary to common belief, therefore, records during the later eighteenth century show that instead of stumbling along after a precentor, the large Lutheran churches had well organized choirs, strong congregational singing, and above all a healthy emphasis upon music in the parochial schools. These facts alone are sufficient to give the Lutheran churches more than just a passing reference in American histories of music.

A third major aim of this dissertation is to provide examples from the lessons of history which would be applicable to church music of today.

Probably the most important lesson which modern Lutherans--and other churches--could learn from their forebears is to grasp the enthusiasm which eighteenth-century congregations held for music. Music was fully recognized as a legitimate means of spreading the Gospel and enticing persons to attend church. Instead of being a routine matter, music was a special and an exciting activity; above all, it was a creative activity with a large degree of personal involvement on the part of all concerned--pastor, organist, choir, schoolchildren, and congregation. Pastors often wrote texts for special occasions, and either they or the organist adapted these texts to musical settings. Sometimes the organist provided original music to support the texts, but more often pre-existing music was called upon to fill the need. The selections thus created could vary anywhere from a single congregational hymn to a complete musical service for one or more choirs, soloists, instrumentalists, and the congregation. Such a service was largely constructed for the occasion, but it comprised a degree of personal involvement that is virtually unknown in congregations today. With ample time for rehearsal, and not having to compete with all the distracting diversions of twentieth-century life, the amateur choirs and other musicians who performed on these occasions seem to have attained a relatively high degree of technical accomplishment. Thus, while one must be sufficiently realistic to recognize that the music for such services did not involve great artistic masterworks, neither must one underestimate the performing standards or the significance of such music in respect to the position of music in early American society.

In order to attain the above aims, this dissertation has utilized the following procedures in gathering and organizing material:

1. The author has endeavored to examine all references to music, hymnbooks, choirs, singing, organs, etc. which he has been able to locate in both original and secondary sources. These sources include accounts of special services such as dedications and cornerstone ceremonies, diaries of pastors associated with congregations known to have had considerable musical activity, church records, contemporary newspaper reports, and histories of individual congregations. Part of this investigation included personal visits to various libraries and churches in and around Philadelphia in search of new material.

2. All imprints of Lutheran hymnbooks listed in the standard bibliographies of printing and in Smith's dissertation have come under the author's personal examination, either in their original form, or on microcard or microfilm reproductions.

3. The author has examined all German chorale and tune books issued in America before 1825 in so far as it has been possible to locate copies of such books. A thorough bibliography for early nineteenth-century American printing is not available, and the incompleteness of present bibliographical studies is attested by the fact that the author has come across various publications which the standard bibliographies have omitted.

4. A large number of hymn, anthem, and cantata texts, most of which are by the Rev. Justus Henry Christian Helmuth, and which have previously been virtually ignored or have remained unknown, are also included in this study. Even though the actual music to these texts is

lacking, they nonetheless provide considerable insight into the large number of musical performances which graced worship in the more important Lutheran churches, especially in the Philadelphia congregation. Many of these texts were published as pamphlets or leaflets which were distributed to the congregation so they would better be able to follow the words sung by the choir and the soloists, and also so they would individually be able to use these texts for personal meditation.

For purposes of presentation, all this material has been organized into a combined geographical and chronological arrangement. The chapters themselves deal only with specified geographical areas, while the material within the chapters is arranged chronologically, though with some further geographical subdivisions.

A terminal date of 1825 was selected for several reasons. In the first place, this was the year of the death of Dr. Helmuth, one of the most prominent of early American Lutheran clergymen and unquestionably the most prolific American Lutheran hymnodist of his day. Secondly, after the War of 1812 the westward expansion of America brought many new influences to bear upon the Lutheran church, and by 1825 to 1830 settlements west of the Alleghenies were beginning to rival those along the Atlantic coast, thus changing the character of American Lutheranism. In the third place, by 1825 the relatively conservative influence of the fathers of the American church had been replaced by a much more liberal theology which tended to cast the church--and its music--into the general Protestant fold rather than adhering to traditional Lutheran concepts and orders of worship. Finally, around

1820 to 1830 the pattern of American musical culture along the seaboard underwent a profound change. This change was occasioned by the immigration of large numbers of European musicians who overwhelmed native American performers and eclipsed such distinctively American musical features as the singing schools and the fuguing tunes. For these reasons, therefore, a date approximately around 1825 seems most appropriate for terminating the chronology of this study, since many new elements entered both the American Lutheran churches and their musical life about this time.

In order to preserve the utmost accuracy, all translated quotations and musical examples which occur in this study strive to follow their respective originals as closely as possible. For longer translations the German originals are given in the appendixes, enabling the reader personally to check any points on which he might have questions. Musical examples are presented just as they occur in the original sources, with the exception that for ease of reading and appearance the direction of the note stems is sometimes changed and the bar lines go through the spaces between the staves rather than being restricted to the staves themselves. Any other changes are mentioned in the examples in which they occur. Likewise, the author has endeavored to maintain the original spellings in all quotations; words such as "Germantown" may thus sometimes appear as "Germantaun" or "Germanton."

During the course of this study the author has observed some areas which need much further investigation. Certainly the first of these concerns bibliography. Although large libraries generally have a fairly good knowledge of their holdings, some of the smaller libraries in the Philadelphia

area present an appalling picture to both librarians and historians. Important collections of early Lutheran material, for example, exist in the Pennsylvania German Society's library and in collections of the Lutheran seminaries at both Gettysburg and Mt. Airy (Philadelphia). While catalogs exist at all three of these libraries, a large number of holdings fall under such headings as "miscellaneous pamphlets" or some equally uninformative description. Virtually all the Helmuth imprints mentioned in this study are cataloged in the Mt. Airy library under a single card reading "miscellaneous poems." Thus it is little wonder that bibliographers have missed so many of these imprints.

From a more strictly musical viewpoint, a thorough study should also be made of German tunebooks and chorale books issued in America during the early nineteenth century. Here again one would have to begin with bibliographical work, and then proceed to analyze the contents of these collections. Many of the numbers are adapted from European composers, but many others are by various American writers or are original with the respective editors. Comparisons need to be made between the German and the English-language tunebooks, as well as between various German tunebooks themselves. Detecting some of the plagiarism and trying to ascertain composers of countless anonymous tunes and anthems would greatly aid in dispelling what is still a rather heavy fog obscuring American musical life during the early years of the nineteenth century. Such a study would be quite involved, but could yield many worthwile results.

Another fascinating topic revolves about some of the singularly archaic features of American tunebooks as late as 1830, which include

theoretical introductions giving rules for mensuration and tempo reminiscent of the renaissance, as well as harmonizations with preferences for open fifths in the opening and closing chords, especially when a number is in the minor mode. The old custom of placing the melody in the tenor also seems remarkably archaic for 1800. A study of why and how such practices managed to survive up until the nineteenth century might shed some interesting light upon both European and American church music. The question of tempo and tactus would be particularly interesting since it undoubtedly stems from European practices and probably had at least some application to a great percentage of European church music written throughout the eighteenth century. Should it be that eighteenth-century church musicians in Europe and America actually followed the mensural instructions of these theoretical introductions, music historians may have to rethink some aspects of eighteenth-century performance practices, at least in respect to church music.

If this dissertation does nothing else, it should at least focus attention upon the fact that much more work needs to be done concerning the history not only of American Lutheran music, but of American music in general. Such research certainly would not uncover any unknown Beethovens or Bachs, but it would just as certainly help music historians to gain a far better understanding of America's musical past and the true position of music in American society than is now available. With the exception of a passing reference to the Bay Psalm Book, William Billings, and more recently to the Moravian settlements, all too many musicians still tend to think that the history of music in America began with the year that Lowell

Mason introduced singing into the Boston public schools. This, of course, was not the case. Music did exist in American life both before and around 1800, and this dissertation shall strive to show that in at least one segment of society, namely the Lutheran church, music not only existed but flourished and grew into one of the most important and distinctive features of American Lutheran worship.

The author wishes to acknowledge advice and assistance from the following persons: Dr. Scott Goldthwaite of the University of Illinois, who served as advisor for this study; Dr. Dragan Plamenac, also of the University of Illinois, who gave of his time to read and comment upon the text; Miss Alma De Jordy and the staff in the reference room of the University of Illinois Library, who assisted with many bibliographical problems and arranged for microfilming various materials required for research; Eleanor Este Campion, director of the Philadelphia Bibliographical Center and Union Library Catalogue; Miss Elizabeth C. Kieffer, archivist for the Evangelical and Reformed Church, Lancaster, Pennsylvania; August R. Suelflow, director of the Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, Missouri; Helen Rose Cline, parish recorder for Trinity Episcopal Church, New York; Arthur K. Leberknight, Germantown, Pennsylvania; Dr. Herbert H. Schmidt, librarian of the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania; Rev. John Hamester, pastor of St. Michael's and Zion Church, Philadelphia; Miss Dorothea Conrad, Librarian at Capital University, Columbus, Ohio; Rev. Robert Wiederaenders, Kankakee, Illinois; and the staff of the library at the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Mt. Airy (Philadelphia).

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CHAPTER I

SWEDISH LUTHERANS IN PENNSYLVANIA

First Settlements along the Delaware

A half century before William Penn first set foot on the shores of America, two Swedish ships sailed up the Delaware River in March, 1638, and dropped anchor near the present site of Wilmington. These two vessels, the "Kalmar Nyckel" and the "Fogel Grip," brought the first settlers in Sweden's short-lived attempt to establish a colony in the New World. Although the Swedish flag was not destined to fly for long on the banks of the Delaware, the original settlers remained to establish not only a thriving colony, but also the first permanent Lutheran congregations in America.

Actually the Swedes were not the first Lutherans to live in North America. In the late summer of 1619 a Danish colony of sixty-six men settled on the shores of Hudson Bay. However, they were not adequately prepared to meet the rigors of a Canadian winter, and only a few survived to return to Denmark in the following year. All others, including the Lutheran pastor who had accompanied them, succumbed to either the elements or disease.[1]

The indefatigable colonizer, Peter Minuit, was partially responsible for establishing the first Swedish colony in America. After being dismissed as director-general for the Dutch in New Amsterdam, Minuit went to

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[1] William J. Finck, Lutheran Landmarks and Pioneers in America (Philadelphia: United Lutheran Publishing House, 1913), gives a good survey of the first Lutheran colonists in America.

Sweden to stir up interest and to gain backing for a settlement along the Delaware, and the expedition of 1637-1638 was the result. By establishing a competing colony Minuit was undoubtedly trying to get even with the Dutch for dismissing him. If this were his aim, he was indeed successful, for as early as May 6, 1638, William Kieft, director of New Amsterdam, sent a letter back to Holland in which he expressed suspicion of the new Swedish settlements.[2] Although Acrelius states that Rev. Reorus Torkillus came over with Minuit,[3] later research by Otto Norberg discloses that he did not arrive until the second expedition in 1639.[4] Torkillus was the first Swedish Lutheran clergyman to minister in America, and he remained with the Swedish settlers until his death on September 7, 1643.

When John Printz became governor of New Sweden in 1643, he brought a large accession of new immigrants to America with him, including the Rev. John Campanius. Campanius conducted regular public worship on Sundays and festival days, and he also held short morning and evening services on week days.[5] He served as chaplain to the governor on Tinicum Island (in the Delaware River below the present site of Philadelphia), where he had the distinction of consecrating the first Lutheran church in America on September 4, 1646. His grandson, Thomas Campanius Holm, wrote

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[2] Collections of the New-York Historical Society, 2d series, I (New York: H. Ludwig, 1841), p. 409.

[3] Israel Acrelius, A History of New Sweden, trans. William M. Reynolds ("Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania," Vol. XI; Philadelphia: By the society, 1874), p. 85.

[4] Cited by Henry E. Jacobs, A History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States ("The American Church History Series," Vol. IV; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902), p. 81.

[5] Ibid., p. 83.

a short history of New Sweden which is one of the major sources of information for the early history of the colony.[6]

Although life in New Sweden was very primitive and the church was only loosely established at this time, Campanius nonetheless conducted worship as close as possible to the practice of the Swedish church. A letter from Governor Printz to Per Brahe in 1644 states that "the services with its ceremonies are conducted as in old Sweden," and also that "our priest is vested with a chasuble and differs in all manners from the other sects surrounding us."[7]

The Swedes strictly observed the three principal holidays--Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost. On these days the pastor held early morning services followed by high mass with a sermon. Appropriate services were also held on special occasions, e.g. in 1646, when Queen Christina ascended the throne, a special service in the new church at Tinicum praised God with a holy "Te Deum" for his grace in granting the fatherland a queen who was of age.[8]

Services followed the order of high mass as found in the psalmbook of 1614, and a glance at the Swedish liturgy for this year discloses the following order of worship:

1. An allocution.

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[6] Kort Beskrifnung om Provincien Nya Swerige uti America (Stockholm: J. H. Werner, 1702). Trans. by Peter S. DuPonceau as A Short Description of the Province of New Sweden ("Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania," (Vol. III, Part I; Philadelphia: M'Carty and Davis, 1834).

[7] Amandus Johnson, The Swedish Settlements on the Delaware (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1911), I, 367.

[8] Ibid., p. 370.

2. Confession of sins.

3. Singing of the Kyrie and the Gloria in excelsis. Instead of the Laudamus, Decius' setting of the Gloria may be substituted.

4. Salutation, with the congregation singing the response, and followed by the appropriate collects.

5. The Epistle and the Gospel, between which there was an appropriate Swedish hymn.

6. Either the Apostles' or the Nicene Creed, or Luther's setting of the Creed.

7. Sermon, preceded by a hymn.

8. Salutations, prefaces, and the Consecration, followed by reading or singing the Sanctus. The celebrant then sings the Lord's Prayer followed by the Admonition.

9. Distribution of the Elements during congregational singing of the Agnus Dei.

10. Various closing sentences, concluding with the Benediction.

11. Final hymn.[9]

Regular Lutheran services continued to be held during the administration of Governor Rising, also. In 1654 the governor proclaimed three special days of fasting and prayer--June 9, August 4, and September 1--when the majority of the settlers assembled at Tinicum for worship. No information is available concerning the specific use of music in these services, but since they endeavored to follow the mother church as closely

[9]N. Forsander, "The Swedish Liturgies," Memoirs of the Lutheran Liturgical Association, II (1907), 23-24.

as possible, one may assume that the traditional Swedish hymns and the intonations of the celebrant were a regular part of the ceremonies.[10]

Dark days lay ahead for the little Swedish settlement, however. Provoked by what they considered to be aggressive acts infringing upon their rights, the Dutch in New Amsterdam grew progressively more hostile towards the Swedes. Finally, on August 30, 1655, the Dutch governor, Peter Stuyvesant, arrived in New Sweden with seven ships and six or seven hundred men. Faced by a huge superiority in men, the little Swedish forts capitulated without any serious fighting, and New Sweden came under Dutch control.[11]

Although Governor Stuyvesant permitted the Swedes to continue Lutheran worship, the severance of ties with Sweden brought many trying years for the young churches. After the death of Pastor Lars Lock in 1688, and with the blindness and increasing age of Jacob Fabritius (who came to the Swedish churches from New York in 1671 and served until his death in 1693), the congregations had a difficult time obtaining pastors and maintaining their organization. The little wooden churches soon fell into decay, and the people began to disperse.

Re-establishment of the Churches

It was not until the last decade of the seventeenth century that the fortunes of the Swedes began to turn for the better. In 1690 Andrew Printz,

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[10] Johnson, II, 546.

[11] Collections of the New-York Historical Society, I, 402-448. These pages include translations of many interesting documents relating to Swedish-Dutch affairs.

a nephew of the former governor, visited the Swedish settlements. On his return to Sweden he reported the sad condition in which he found the churches to John Thelin, postmaster at Gothenburg. Thelin appealed in their behalf to King Charles XI, who in turn consulted the Archbishop, Dr. Jasper Svedberg (father of Emanuel Swedenborg). The Swedish officials resolved to send pastors, books, and money in answer to the pleas of their fellow countrymen along the Delaware.[12]

Acrelius and Campanius Holm both give some of the details concerning these arrangements. On May 31, 1693, thirty Swedish settlers signed their names to a letter sent to Thelin which requested two Swedish priests and a quantity of books. On the advice of Thelin, Charles XI responded favorably and instructed Archbishop Svedberg to make the necessary arrangements.[13] Consequently, in 1696 the Swedish government sent pastors Andrew Rudman and Eric Björck to serve the Swedish settlers, along with a third man, Jonas Aurén, who was to return to Sweden with a first-hand report. These men brought with them fifty copies of the Uppsala hymnbook, in large type, one hundred other hymn books, two liturgies, two copies of the official church regulations, and fifty copies of Treasuries of the Soul, a book for personal meditation.[14]

As was to be expected, the Swedish pastors found church affairs in a very poor condition. A letter dated October 29, 1697, from Björck

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[12] Acrelius, pp. 181-202.

[13] Campanius Holm, pp. 92-94.

[14] Acrelius, p. 366.

to Dr. Israel Kolmodin, a church official in Sweden, states that "in comparing the religious situation of these people, their divine service, attention to the ordinances and the instruction of their youth in the catechism and other things with the congregations in Sweden, I must say that these are quite irregular. . ."[15]

It did not take long, however, before congregational affairs were set in order. On Wednesday, June 30, 1697, Rudman, Björck, and Aurén held their first service among the Swedes along the Delaware. The records do not indicate in what sort of building this service occurred, or any specific details concerning it, but Sachse claims this to have been the first service in America in which the Lutheran ritual was rendered in full according to the mother country.[16] Perhaps this is true, but one must remember that as early as 1644 Governor Printz had written that worship was conducted in accordance with the Swedish liturgy.

One of the first problems facing the young ministers was to superintend the erection of suitable houses of worship. The old churches had been built of wood, which, unlike modern frame construction, was untreated to withstand weathering. Consequently, they were in such poor condition as to be unusable. After considerable trouble and dissension concerning a site, the Swedes finally decided to erect the most important of their churches at Wicaco, on a slight bluff overlooking the Delaware just south of the new

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[15] Campanius Holm, p. 99.

[16] Julius F. Sachse, The German Pietists of Provincial Pennsylvania (Philadelphia: By the author, 1895), p. 94.

town of Philadelphia. This brick structure was consecrated and officially named Gloria Dei Church on July 2, 1700.[17] Although the building has been altered and remodeled at various times during the centuries, the basic original structure still remains, and the United States Congress has declared it to be a national shrine both for its historic significance and in honor of being the oldest building which has been continuously used for worship services anywhere in Pennsylvania.

Several men from the Theosophical Brotherhood, a German sect who had settled along the banks of the Wissahickon just outside Philadelphia under the leadership of Johannes Kelpius, provided music for the consecration services. These men were from the first of several sects who were to live a cloistered life in southeastern Pennsylvania. They not only furnished instrumental music (we can only speculate as to what instruments they used), but also acted as choristers for the dedicatory service, chanting the psalms and responses while the three pastors--Rudman, Björck, and Aurén--all robed in surplice and chasuble, conducted the worship itself.[18]

Andrew Rudman: Pastor, Musician, and Hymn Writer

The Lutheran pastors did not have to rely solely on the mystic brotherhood to supply sacred music, however. At least one of their number, Andrew Rudman, was a practicing musician, and Jonas Aurén might likewise have had some knowledge of music. These men provide

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[17] Acrelius, p. 217.

[18] Sachse, The German Pietists. . ., pp. 144-145.

the earliest documented cases of Lutheran church musicians in America with at least some sort of musical training other than just hymn or psalm singing. It is possible that some of the Dutch Lutherans in New York or the earlier Swedes might have had some musicians who participated in church activities, but there is no conclusive evidence to indicate that this was the case.

Rudman brought along a small spinet when he came to this country. Renstrom states that he used this instrument in writing music (perhaps this means adapting hymns to music, etc. rather than actual composition), and that he often carried it with him on his pastoral visits to Swedish homes.[19] It is probable that Rudman acquired this spinet in England before coming to America, since he stopped there on his journey from Sweden to the New World.

An original manuscript containing portions of a diary by Rudman is in the library of Yale University, where it was deposited by a former librarian, Prof. J. C. Schwab, who found it among the papers of his family. Since Schwab was a descendant of the Rev. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, possibly one of the Swedish clergymen gave it to Muhlenberg sometime during the middle of the eighteenth century.[20] Most of this

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[19] Arthur G. Renstrom, "The Earliest Swedish Imprints in the United States," Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America, XXXIX (January, 1945), 185.

[20] These references to Rudman's diary are from a series of articles by Luther Anderson, "Diary of Andrew Rudman, July 25, 1696 - June 14, 1697," German-American Annals, VIII (1906) and IX (1907). Anderson provides both a transcription and a translation.

diary contains details of Rudman's ocean voyage along with many entertaining comments on English life. However, it occasionally adds an item of musical interest. An entry for March 11, 1697, while Rudman was on board ship, reads: "Towards evening I was in the Captain's cabin, and played for him and his wife on my spinnet at their request. Mr. Björck was also there."[21] A month later, on April 11, he mentioned writing a meditation for a fellow passenger. "I also wrote a hymn, beginning, 'Idel nig i evighet.' It is sung to the same melody as the hymn beginning 'O Gud, O Gud så from.'"[22]

Rudman continued writing hymns after his arrival in America, and he has the honor of publishing the first Lutheran hymns (texts only, in accordance with the practice of the times) ever to be printed in this country. These hymns also have the distinction of being the earliest Swedish language imprint of any kind to appear in the United States. One of the earliest references to Rudman's hymns occurs in Peter Kalm's travels. Kalm was a Swedish naturalist and Lutheran clergyman who visited America in 1749-1750. After his return to Sweden he followed the time-honored practice of world travelers by publishing an account of his experiences. Adolph Benson's modern English translation of Kalm's travels includes not only the material which Kalm had originally published, but also supplementary excerpts from his manuscript diaries. An entry from one of these diaries contains the following passage:

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[21] Ibid., VIII (November, 1906), 373.

[22] Ibid., IX (January, 1907), 11. The author has not been able definitely to identify this hymn.

> In Wicaco I received some Swedish songs that had been printed there in the year 1701. There were eight of them, all composed by the Rev. Rudman. They are of two kinds, or on two types of paper, and maybe of two different years, for on one part the title is given before the (two) songs, and the date printed, while the other six are undated. All are printed in octavo with Latin script, and are said to be not only the first items printed in Swedish in this vicinity (i. e. in Philadelphia), but one of the first writings in any language to be printed here, since before that time there was no printing establishment in Philadelphia and everything was published in New York.[23]

Benson's reference to "Latin script" should be translated as "Roman letters," since the Swedish original in Kalm's diary is "Latinska bokstäfver."[24] Kalm was not quite accurate in referring to the date of the first printing in Philadelphia, since William Bradford established a press there in 1685, or sixteen years prior to Rudman's imprint.

As Kalm implies, Rudman published two different pamphlets of hymn texts. One of the imprints is entitled Twenne andelige Wisor, foer egen Andacht Sammansatte. Translated into English, the full title page reads:

> "Two Spiritual Hymns Composed for Personal Devotion and Now, I Hope, for the Pious Encouragement of Many, for a Little New Year's Gift in the Year after Our Saviour's Birth, 1701. Presented to My Beloved Brethren of Wicaco Congregation with Faithful Prayer for All Spiritual and Corporeal Blessing, in Him Whom I Dearly Love, Jesus Christ. Printed in Philadelphia by Reinier Jansen."[25]

The first hymn is called "A penitent soul's spiritual shepherd hymn" and has eleven verses of eight lines each; the second is entitled "Joyful

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[23] Adolph B. Benson (ed.), Peter Kalm's Travels in North America (New York: Wilson-Erickson, 1937), p. 689.

[24] Renstrom, Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America, XXXIX, 182, footnote.

[25] Ibid., pp. 186-187.

satisfaction in the resurrection of Jesus" and comprises six verses of six lines each. Renstrom states that the second hymn is a translation of Christian Keymann's "Meinem Jesum lass ich nicht."[26] He also notes that since the title page indicates that the hymns were intended as a New Year's gift to members of the congregation, they probably were printed before New Year's Day of 1701, perhaps towards the close of 1700. The only known copies of Twenne andelige Wisor survive in the Uppsala University library and in the Helsingfors University library. The Helsingfors' copy is bound together with some pamphlets that originally belonged to Peter Kalm.

The second imprint of six hymns lacks a separate title page and instead has only a caption title, Naogra andeliga Wisor ("Several Spiritual Songs"), before the text of the first hymn. There is no reference to an author, date, or place of publication, but the typography of both imprints is similar. The author undoubtedly was Rudman, and the printer again Jansén, since he was the only printer active in Philadelphia at this time. As Renstrom observes, the hymn texts are thoroughly permeated with the early pietism of Arndt, Muller, and other German hymn writers. Both the first and the second imprints each contain eight pages.

Although no copies of Naogra andeliga Wisor are extant in this country, the New York Public Library has a photostat of an original imprint which is in the Royal Library at Stockholm.[27] Since these six

[26] Ibid., p. 189.

[27] According to a handwritten notation on the microfilm copy of this imprint supplied by the New York Public Library. Renstrom says that a copy exists in the Helsingfors University library.

hymns, along with the two others just mentioned, represent the earliest Lutheran hymns printed in America, it seems only proper to consider their nature in some detail. The very fact that such hymns were printed at this early date, when the American churches were still operating under the most primitive conditions, indicates the emphasis which even the earliest Lutheran pastors placed upon music and singing.

From the typographical viewpoint Naogra andeliga Wisor is crude indeed. The printer lacked certain Swedish characters and had to improvise with English letters, not to mention the fact that the impressions are very uneven, sometimes blurred, and plagued by corrupt spellings. An example of the first verse of the first hymn shows the extent of this corruption. The text of this verse calls for one's heart and mind to let go of everything which may be in this world since all earthly things are vain, and instead have desire for the eternal.[28]

Alt hwad som i denna Werlden mon wara,
  Och alt hwad som haer faofaengligit aer,
Skal tu af hiertit och hog laota fara,
  Och till thet ewiga hafwa begiaer:
Om tu tig fao, staella haer mao,
  Ewigan Salighet skal tu fao.

Renstrom writes: "The meters and the versification in the first song of the Naogra Andeliga Wisor are the same as in J. Neander's well known Lobe den Herren, den mächtigen Konig der Ehren," and a footnote refers to Nils Jacobsson's Svenska öden vid Delaware, 1638-1831, apparently

[28] The author has not been able to determine either the origin of the text or a possible tune for this hymn; he wishes to thank Dr. P. M. Mitchell of the University of Illinois for assistance in reading the texts in this imprint.

as authority for this statement.[29] This is incorrect, however, as a glance at the above text immediately shows that the metrical structure of "Lobe den Herren"--14, 14, 4, 7, 8--will not fit this verse. Instead, a tune with the structure of 11, 10, 11, 10, 4, 4, 10 in a dactylic meter seems to be required. Zahn's catalog[30] fails to indicate such a melody, although it is possible that a similar melody could have been adapted to this text. (In the first verse the last line has only nine syllables, but the other verses call for ten).

Perhaps Renstrom was thinking of the second and the third hymns when he referred to "Lobe den Herren" as the melody, since the five verses of the second and the eleven verses of the third hymn both obviously fit the famous German chorale tune. The second hymn begins, "Naer will tu Jesu," and its first line expresses the thought, "When, Jesus, will you let my path of suffering reach its end." Like the first hymn, there is no indication that it is a translation, so perhaps it was written by Rudman himself.

Before the third hymn one finds the inscription, "Den tridie under samma melodie, nu oefwersatt" ("The third, set to the same melody, now translated"). It is written in the form of a dialogue in which alternate verses are designated either as the "soul" or as "Jesus." It was probably

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[29] Renstrom, Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America, XXXIX, 189.

[30] Johannes Zahn, Die Melodien der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenlieder, aus den Quellen geschöpft und mitgeteilt (6 vols.; Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1889-1893).

intended to be sung in an antiphonal manner, perhaps between two parts of the congregation, between the pastor and the congregation, or in a similar arrangement. As we shall see later, this type of responsorial hymn singing was very popular with eighteenth-century Lutherans in America. The hymn text is a free translation of "Hast du denn, Liebster, dein Angesicht gänzlich verborgen," listed as number 1912a in Zahn's catalog, where it is assigned to the same tune as "Lobe den Herren."

The fourth hymn, described as "foerbaettrad" ("improved"), begins, "O Jesu Christ, min Fretsar' wist," and contains nine verses. It is a translation of the German chorale, "Herre Jesus Krist, min Frelser du est," written by H. C. Sthen in the late sixteenth century, and was undoubtedly sung to the same melody. Rudman's fifth hymn is said to be "baettre aen foerr," ("better than before"). Its six verses are a translation of the famous "Jesu meine Freude," which in Rudman's Swedish becomes "Jesu du min gamman." The text retains the metrical structure of the German original, so it was unquestionably sung to the same tune.

Before the sixth and final hymn of this little pamphlet one finds the words, "foerbaettrad efter Tyskan" ("improved after the German"). The text begins, "Allenste Gud i Himmels thron," and is a translation of the German paraphrase of the Gloria, "Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr." Rudman's translation follows the meter of the German chorale. The second verse addresses the Father, the third the Son, and the fourth the Holy Spirit, thus following the basic outline of the Gloria.

Björck and the Christina (Wilmington) Church

While Rudman was building the strength of the Gloria Dei congregation, Pastor Björck was busily ministering to the smaller Swedish churches in the Crane Hook area. The largest of these congregations was located at Christina, a Swedish settlement on the site of what is now Wilmington, Delaware. Upon his arrival Björck proposed the following general order for services:

1. Open with an appropriate morning psalm.
2. Readings from the Old and New Testaments, respectively.
3. Readings from the Catechism.
4. Read the Athanasian Creed.
5. Suitable hymn.
6. Special services according to the need, e.g. confession or baptism.
7. Celebration of high mass according to the order contained in the directory of the Swedish church.[31]

Like their sister congregation at Wicaco, the Christina Swedes realized the importance of building a permanent church edifice, and on July 4, 1699, Björck and Rudman officiated at the dedication of the new Holy Trinity Church, now commonly called "Old Swedes." Björck's record of the dedication mentions that they sang "Our Father, which art in Heaven" and the hymn "Come Holy Spirit, Lord God" before the sermon. After

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[31] Horace Burr (ed.), The Records of Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church ("Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware," Vol. IX; Wilmington: By the Society, 1890), p. 13.

the sermon "Magister Rudman sang a prayer and then the blessing," whereupon high mass was celebrated.[32] The reference to Rudman's singing of a prayer seems to indicate that the pastors followed the old Swedish practices of intoning sections of the liturgy.

Björck remained in America until he was recalled to Sweden in 1714. His son, Tobias Eric, was probably eleven or twelve years old when he left America with his father, but he must have retained a permanent interest in the New World since his graduation dissertation at Uppsala University in 1731 was a history of the Swedish settlements on the Delaware. This little book was entitled Dissertatio gradualis, de Plantatione Ecclesiae Svecanae in America; a beautifully preserved copy is in the Pennsylvania State Library at Harrisburg, while a second copy exists in the Library of Congress.[33]

Music at the Ordination of Justus Falckner

The ordination of Justus Falckner on November 24, 1703, was one of the most interesting--and historically controversial--events in the early history of Gloria Dei Church. Falckner was the son of a Lutheran pastor in Saxony; he was educated for the ministry at Halle, but instead came to America on business with his elder brother, Daniel. Since a

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[32] Ibid., p. 41.

[33] See also Tobias Eric Biörck, The Planting of the Swedish Church in America, trans. Ira O. Nothstein (Rock Island: Augustana College Library, 1943).

severe shortage of trained pastors existed in the colonies, the Swedish pastors received authority from the church in Sweden to ordain Falckner, who thus became the first Lutheran clergyman who is definitely known to have received ordination in America.

Julius F. Sachse gives what purports to be a detailed description of the Falckner ordination service. This is found both in his study of the German pietists and also in his book on Falckner.[34] Unfortunately Sachse failed to document his statements, and while the general outline of his description appears to be correct, many of the details are open to question. Sachse was unquestionably an expert on the early history of the German sects in Pennsylvania, but, as we shall see below, sometimes his enthusiasm appears to have exceeded his scholarship.

Kelpius and the mystics from the Wissahickon, who had assisted at the consecration of Gloria Dei, also provided at least part of the music for Falckner's ordination. The officiating pastors were Rudman, Björck, and Andrew Sandel, who had arrived in 1702 as an assistant and a replacement for Rudman, who was in poor health. The order for the ordination was undoubtedly that of the Swedish Kyrko-Ordnung of 1571, which was the formula in standard use at that time.[35] In addition to these basic facts, Sachse adds many undocumented, but plausible details. He writes that a "Jonas, the organist" opened the service with a voluntary on the little

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[34] The German Pietists..., pp. 354-360. Also in Justus Falckner (Philadelphia: By the author: 1903), pp. 64-70.

[35] Harry J. Kreider, "Justus Falckner," Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly, XXVII (July, 1954), 86.

organ in the gallery, supplemented with instrumental music on the viol, hautboy, trumpets (Posaunen),[36] and kettle drums. As the procession entered the church the men from the Theosophical Brotherhood intoned the anthem, "Veni Creator Spiritus," and as the candidate was being invested with the chausuble and stole they sang "Veni Sancto Spirit"[37] to the soft strains of instrumental music. At the conclusion of the service, while the procession was leaving the church, the choir intoned Psalm 115.

However, in addition to the fact that he fails to provide documentation, one suspects Sachse's description even more because the alleged facsimile of the ordination certificate which he published in his biography of Falckner has turned out to be a forgery. Sachse thought that the original document was forever lost, but unfortunately for him the actual certificate was discovered in New York some years ago. As final proof of the forgery, the archivist of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the Netherlands, Dr. Simon Hart, has discovered the photographic negatives which Sachse used for his "facsimile" along with the positive of the wax seal which he made as part of the fraud.[38] In all fairness to Sachse, however, one must admit that his reconstructed ordination certificate is remarkably similar to the real document, despite a few discrepancies.

[36] Although Sachse uses the term "trumpets," he gives the German for "trombones" immediately afterwards. It is possible that the reference might be to slide trumpets which were built like soprano trombones and which were used by German church musicians.

[37] This is how Sachse gives the Latin title.

[38] See Willem Kooiman, "Justus Falckner's Ordination Certificate," The Lutheran Quarterly, V (November, 1953), 385-388.

The reference to an organist named Jonas is undoubtedly the same person mentioned by Sandel in his diary for July 21, 1702, which contains a passing reference to "Jones [sic], the organist."[39] Sachse speculates that Jonas might be Jonas Aurén, who accompanied Björck and Rudman to America in 1697, and who did not return as soon as he had originally planned. Even more perplexing is the origin of the organ; Sandel's diary probably would not refer to an organist unless there was an organ somewhere for him to play. An entry in Kelpius' diary states that while crossing the ocean to America, "We had also prayer meetings and sang hymns of praise and joy, several of us accompanying on instruments that we had brought from London."[40] Did these instruments include a small pipe organ?

Another possibility is that Gloria Dei might have owned a small organ in 1703. Shortly after the dedication of the church Rudman wrote a letter to the Swedish church officials in which he said that "we have also room for a small organ."[41] Moreover, two years before his ordination Falckner had written to some ecclesiastical authorities in Germany, asking them to give the Swedish churches (which at that time served the German Lutherans, too) more support for music, as this would aid both "to attract

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[39]"Extracts from the Journal of Rev. Andreas Sandel, Pastor of 'Gloria Dei' Swedish Lutheran Church, Philadelphia, 1702-1719," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, XXX (July, 1906), 292.

[40]Sachse, The German Pietists..., p. 22.

[41]Church Music and Musical Life in Pennsylvania in the Eighteenth Century ("Publications of the Pennsylvania Society of the Colonial Dames of America"; Philadelphia: By the society, 1926-1947), I, 197.

and civilize the wild Indian" and in "spreading the Gospel truths among the sects and others." Falckner felt that Gloria Dei would be a good place for an organ because it was"of high build and resonant structure." Furthermore, it would be an excellent means of enticing persons to come to worship. Falckner's plea for an organ is dated August 1, 1701, which would have allowed the German authorities ample time to send over a small instrument by the fall of 1703, but there is no record as to whether or not they did so. The only known copy of Falckner's letter, which was published by church authorities in Germany--perhaps as a means for spurring German interest in missionary activities, is in the library of the University of Rostock.[42] Concerning the Swedes, this same letter also says: "The outward worship of God is held in the Swedish language, and partly according to the Swedish liturgy, so far as church ceremonies are concerned."

Hymnbooks and Supplies from Europe

Whether or not European authorities sent an organ to Philadelphia at this time, there is ample evidence that they provided the Swedish churches with many shipments of Bibles, hymnbooks, and devotional literature. The first shipment accompanied Rudman, Björck, and Aurén when they came to the colony. In 1704 His Royal Majesty, King Charles XII, granted the

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[42] Justus Falckner, Abdruck eines Schreiben an Tit. Herrn D. Henr. Muhlen aus Germantown in der Americanischen Province Pensylvania [sic] (No city or publisher given, 1702). Reproduced in the Microfilm Corpus of American Lutheranism (Chicago: University of Chicago Library, 1954 -), reel 20. Hereafter this series will be identified by the abbreviation MCAL. English translations by Sachse are in the Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, XXI (April, 1897), 216-223, and in Justus Falckner, pp. 38-48.

Christina and Wicaco congregations a second shipment consisting of four hymnbooks in quarto, three hundred other hymnbooks (of which a hundred were octavo and the rest duodecimo, but forty of them unbound), as well as Bibles and other books.[43] Björck's diary for April 6, 1707, acknowledges receipt of this shipment "according to the contents of His Royal Majesty's most gracious letter, dated Heilborg in Poland, 20 April, 1704." Peter Kalm, also, confirms this shipment; he writes that "in 1707 King Charles XII sent over a large number of books, Bibles, psalmbooks (hymnal, missal and prayerbook combined), ABC-books, and works of religious meditation."[44]

When Pastors Hesselius and Lidenius came to assist Sandel in serving the Swedish churches in 1712 (Rudman had died in 1708 and was buried in Gloria Dei on September 17; Björck was preparing to return to Sweden), they brought along 360 copies of Svedberg's edition of the hymnal, grouped in three sorts: (1) large type, octavo, of 1694; (2) small type, long octavo of 1694; and (3) small duodecimo of 1695.[45] Sandel's diary confirms the arrival of these books in an entry for November 20, 1712, which reads: "The books from Sweden sent by the King were received: 10 large Bibles, 360 Hymn books, of three different kinds and 12 copies of a German book called 'Fursten Lehre.'"[46] Björck, also, mentions the shipment, saying that in November, 1712, he went to Philadelphia to

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[43] Burr, p. 118.

[44] Benson, p. 685.

[45] Acrelius, p. 367.

[46] Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, XXX, 446.

receive another chest of books, including Bibles and psalmbooks. He adds that these were the books which were supposed to have accompanied Pastors Hesselius and Lidenius, but because of war in Europe they were delayed and didn't come until several months later on a different ship.[47]

These shipments of books continued up until the middle of the eighteenth century, when English gradually replaced Swedish as the official language in the churches. In 1721 Swedish authorities sent five hundred additional copies of Svedberg's hymnbook, while in 1743 Pastor Naesman brought twenty-four new psalmbooks when he came to America. Rev. Sandin brought sixty more psalmbooks when he arrived in 1747, and one of the last shipments consisted of fifty psalmbooks that accompanied the younger Pastor Lidenius in 1750.[48]

Not only did the Swedish authorities send books and pastors to the American churches, but they also sent money and other church supplies. Björck's diary cites a letter from Dr. Svedberg, dated August 28, 1713, which says: "His Royal Majesty has also on my humble representation promised a bell and organ and 600 Psalm books, and pay for a schoolmaster."[49] We do not know whether a bell and an organ ever arrived. Consequently, this remark fails to shed any further light on the problem as to whether Gloria Dei owned an organ at this time, or if not, as to when such an instrument was first installed. However, in May, 1711,

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[47] Burr, pp. 147-148.

[48] Acrelius, pp. 367-368.

[49] Burr, p. 159.

a Swedish organ builder and portrait painter named Gustavus Hesselius arrived in Christina. Very little is known of his activities as an organ builder, though he may have worked at Holy Trinity in Christina, Gloria Dei, and Christ Episcopal in Philadelphia. In 1746 he built a pipe organ for the Moravians at Bethlehem. His personal religion was rather unsettled, migrating from Swedish Lutheran to Anglican, thence Moravian; but he was again a Lutheran at the time of his death, and was interred at Gloria Dei.[50] The fact that an organ builder was living in the Philadelphia area at this time made it possible for Gloria Dei to obtain a locally built organ, in case the church authorities in Europe failed to answer the pleas mentioned above. However, here again one can only speculate, since no definite records seem to exist.

From the large quantity of hymnals which the Swedish authorities shipped to their countrymen along the Delaware, it is obvious that these early Lutheran congregations placed considerable emphasis upon music and singing. The Swedes were not content with lining out the hymns, as was done by some of the other denominations at the time; instead, they wanted every adult, or at least every head of a family to have his own hymnbook. Church records of the Swedish congregations at Raccoon (which became Swedesboro, New Jersey, in 1763) and nearby Penns Neck show that in April and May of 1720 the head male member of each household

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[50] Charles Henry Hart, "Gustavus Hesselius," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, XXIX (April, 1905), 129-133. See also Church Music and Musical Life in Pennsylvania, I, 223.

received one or more hymnals.[51] The families were expected to bring their hymnbooks whenever they came to church, as well as to use them for reading and singing during private devotions at home. Probably it is because of the daily use of these books that so few copies have survived to find a niche in modern libraries.[52]

During Rev. Sandel's pastorate at Gloria Dei the congregation must not have permitted much carelessness in singing, for one finds the following regulations concerning church conduct:

> If any one came to church in a state of drunkenness, he was to pay forty shillings, and do penance publicly. If any one made sport of God's word or Sacraments, he should pay five pounds, and undergo church-penance. If any one made a disturbance in the church, he was to be proceeded with according to circumstances. For untimely singing, six shillings.[53]

The regulations do not say what was to be done in case someone was a monotone!

While Andrew Hesselius was pastor at Christina (1713-1723), a general parish meeting on August 28, 1714, passed a resolution stating that "when the creed is sung and the text is read all must reverently stand. . . " The resolution goes on to read: "The congregation were reminded to be

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[51] The Records of the Swedish Lutheran Churches at Raccoon and Penns Neck (Elizabeth: New Jersey Commission to Commemorate the 300th Anniversary of the Settlement by the Swedes and Finns on the Delaware, 1938), pp. 18-20.

[52] The American Swedish Historical Foundation in Philadelphia claims to own five hymnals printed in Sweden and used by the early settlers, but the librarian was unable to locate them when the author visited Philadelphia in February, 1960.

[53] Acrelius, p. 217.

attentive, to have the music of the church performed in a proper, decent and devout manner, and that all who have received God's gift to be capable of singing with a pleasing voice, and with psalms to praise their God, ought by no means to neglect the gift and stand silent when one should lift his voice to God's glory."[54] Acrelius, too, mentions this resolution; he says that during the time of Rev. Andreas Hesselius "it was also ordered that all should kneel in prayer, but stand in singing the Creed and hearing the Gospel read."[55]

The Swedish Churches at Mid-Century

Pastor John Dylander made further improvements in church order when he arrived in November, 1737, to fill the pulpit in Gloria Dei, which had been vacant for a few years with a resulting decline in both the church building and the congregation. Shortly after his arrival the congregation made various improvements and repairs to the church edifice, and "a small, new, and fine organ was put up in the church at the same time."[56] This is the earliest specific reference to an organ in Gloria Dei, despite various earlier inferences that an instrument may have been in the church. Perhaps this organ helped the Swedes to sing better, for Henry Wilder Foote quotes an unnamed visitor to the church in 1743 as saying the Swedes sang their hymns "astonishingly well."[57]

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[54]Burr, p. 196.

[55]Acrelius, p. 276.

[56]Ibid., p. 238.

[57]Henry Wilder Foote, Three Centuries of American Hymnody (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940), p. 125.

This emphasis upon singing and attention to church discipline appears to have paid good dividends. When Rev. Israel Acrelius took charge of the Christina congregation in 1749, he found that although the pastorate had been vacant for a year, "the people came quite unitedly to church, listened to the preaching with much attention, sang their Swedish hymns without a leader, and some of them astonishingly well." On the other hand, "some sat in church who could very well use a hymn-book, but were silent almost throughout the singing, as well as in the rest of the service." Also, part of the hymnals were in poor condition and lay "unused and torn in great heaps in the pews, and sometimes were trampled under foot."[58]

Like the preceding pastors, Acrelius introduced many small refinements and improvements in the conduct of the services. "For greater convenience in finding the hymns, two Number Tablets were arranged--one for Bishop Svedberg's edition, and the other for the common edition of the hymns." He also saw to it that the hymnals were rebound.[59] Concerning the services in general, Acrelius remarks that high mass followed the order of the Swedish church regulations. He says the English found the Swedish mass to be quite singular, and the singing of the Creed seems strange to them as their church retains the custom only with choral services in the cathedrals. During funerals the Swedish pastor sang at the grave and himself cast the earth upon the dead, practices which were likewise singular, though not unique among early American churches.[60] It is not clear whether the

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[58] Acrelius, pp. 301-302.

[59] Ibid., p. 302.

[60] Ibid., p. 359.

reference to singing the Creed means congregational singing of a Swedish translation of Luther's "Wir glauben all an einem Gott," or actual chanting as carried out in Anglican chant. The chorale version of the Creed seems more probable, since it was very popular among eighteenth-century Lutherans, but the comparison to English cathedral practice may imply chanting.

Already during the time of Acrelius language controversies, which were to be a thorn in the growth of American Lutheranism for over a century, were rearing their divisive heads. He mentions discussions as to whether services should be in Swedish or English. When English services were used, the Swedish pastors normally followed the Book of Common Prayer, one of the first of many steps that eventually were to lead the Swedish churches from the Lutheran into the Anglican fold. Moreover, the Swedish pastors maintained a high degree of co-operation with the Church of England, and upon each Swedish minister's return home he received thirty pounds sterling from English church authorities for services rendered to the English churches in America.[61] Acrelius himself returned to Sweden in 1756, where he published his history of the Swedish churches on the Delaware three years later.

The language problems of American Lutheranism were emphasized at an even earlier date by the fact that after Dylander came to Gloria Dei in 1737, he conducted matins in German, high mass in Swedish, and vespers in English.[62] The German services followed the order of worship in whatever

[61] Ibid., p. 362.

[62] Theodore E. Schmauk, The Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania ("Pennsylvania German Society," Vols. XI and XII; Lancaster: By the society, 1902-1903), XI, 58.

German liturgy was at hand, the Swedish worship that of the Church of Sweden, and the English services the order of Common Prayer. Even though a Swedish pastor officiated, he did not translate the order of Swedish matins into German for the German services, etc., but used the hymns and order of service as found in the hymnbooks of the country in whose language the service was conducted. Perhaps this practice helps to explain why the Lutheran churches in America so easily submitted to the influence of less liturgically minded, English-language denominations when English began to gain supremacy in Lutheran worship.

Peter Kalm's travel diaries, mentioned previously in connection with the two pamphlets of hymn texts printed by Rudman, provide one of the most interesting sources concerning the Swedish churches around the middle of the eighteenth century. Kalm recounts that in earlier days Indians often visited the churches. On one occasion a Swede was not singing because he did not have a hymnbook, and a visiting Indian wondered why he didn't sing along with all the others.[63] This little anecdote indicates that even in the earlier days most of the Swedes sang from their own copies of the hymnal when they came to church, thus allowing for a far greater number of different hymns than would have been possible if they had had to rely on their memory.

Before the arrival of Muhlenberg the Swedish churches--and especially Gloria Dei--ministered to the needs of the German Lutherans as well as their own people. When Dylander was pastor at Gloria Dei the

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[63] Benson, p. 270.

Germans came to church "in a body on Sunday morning with their psalmbooks under their arms."[64] Undoubtedly they attended the German matins mentioned above, singing their chorales to the accompaniment of Gloria Dei's little organ.

Kalm's diary for January 5, 1750 (December 25, 1749, old style) gives some observations on the celebration of Christmas in the Philadelphia churches. He mentions that the Swedes did not celebrate Christmas in as grand a manner as in the mother country. "Formerly the Swedes here had candles in their church on Christmas Day and celebrated it as we do in Old Sweden, but now no candles are used and its observance has been much curtailed."[65] The Quakers and other sects paid little attention to the holiday, and only the English, Swedish, and German churches held special services. To this Kalm adds:

> Nowhere was Christmas Day celebrated with more solemnity than in the Roman Church. Three sermons were preached there, and that which contributed most to the splendor of the ceremony was the beautiful music heard today. It was this music which attracted so many people. It must be emphasized that of all the churches in Philadelphia only the Swedish and the Catholic possessed organs. There had formerly been one in the English temple, but it had later become useless. . . The organ in the Swedish Church had also through improper care become worthless. Consequently an organ was to be heard only in the papal place of worship. The officiating priest was a Jesuit, who also played the violin, and he had collected a few others who played the same instrument. So there was good instrumental music, with singing from the organ-gallery besides.[66]

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[64] Ibid., p. 671.

[65] Ibid., p. 233.

[66] Ibid., p. 675.

The organ situation in the Lutheran churches was soon to change, however, for the very next year in the autumn of 1750, Kalm reports that the German Lutheran Church in Philadelphia (St. Michael's) received a fine organ from Germany. This was the instrument which Gottlieb Mittelberger brought from Heilbronn, and which we shall discuss below in chapter iii. Kalm wrote that the German Lutheran congregation "is at present very large, so that every Sunday the church is crowded. It has two galleries but no vestry. They do not sing the collects but read them before the altar."[67] The reference to the collects implies that the Swedish pastors intoned their readings (which we have already seen to be the case); otherwise, Kalm would not have found the act of reading the collects to be worthy of special comment.

In the years following Kalm's accounts there seems to be little mention of the musical practices in Gloria Dei Church. As the services more and more came under the influence of the Church of England, it was only natural that singing and other music would tend to follow Anglican procedures. A notice in the Gemeinnützige Philadelphische Correspondenz for August 12, 1788, mentions a service in which the Swedish pastor, Dr. Collin, delivered a sermon on a Christian's obligations and benefits in respect to his country, with special attention to the new Constitution of the United States. Both before and after the sermon different hymns appropriate to the occasion of the new federal union were sung to the support of instruments. The report does not say what these instruments might have been, but

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[67] Ibid., pp. 21-22.

by the context and the fact that the plural is used, some instruments besides the organ must have participated in the music. It is unlikely that this use of music represented an isolated instance, despite the silence of the records for the second half of the eighteenth century.

While the congregations at Wicaco and Christina prospered, the churches at Raccoon and Penns Neck always remained the poorer "country cousins." The church records for these congregations never mention an organ, and one may assume that neither of these small New Jersey congregations ever owned one, at least while they were under Lutheran control. In 1770 Pastor John Wicksell wrote the following in the Penns Neck records:

> In this Congregation I have never been able to get any steady parish clerk, for the reason that, in the beginning, there was said to be no one who understood English Singing: Therefore I have been obliged to get along here, as well as I might, sometimes with, and sometime s without singing, especially during the first years, until I got to know the people better, and there was an opportunity to arrange Singing Classes, among them, the first of these beginning in Manathan; after that time I have almost never failed to find some one who could sing. . .[68]

This excerpt shows that even though Wicksell was a Swedish Lutheran pastor, he was holding services in English. It also indicates that he helped arrange something like a singing school to improve the church music. This further shows an influence from the English-language churches, since the German congregations relied primarily upon their parochial schools to teach singing, although, as we shall see, the Germans, too, had singing schools.

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[68] Records of . . . Raccoon and Penns Neck, p. 98.

When Wicksell returned to Sweden in 1773, an inventory of the church holdings shows that the Raccoon congregation owned a "great church Hymnbook in quarto" and "the large church service-book in the same size." This inventory also lists "one English Hymn-Book, in large octavo."[69] The Rev. Nils Collin succeeded Wicksell, and later he became pastor of Gloria Dei.

Decline of the Swedish Churches

Collin wrote a brief history of the Raccoon and Penns Neck churches which he entered in the Raccoon records. This history clearly shows how the American Revolution, decline of the Swedish language, and the inability to provide for native-born pastors all contributed to weakening the Swedish churches. As anyone who has read this far has already discovered, a history of the Swedish Lutherans on the Delaware is a constant parade of pastors first coming to America and then returning to Sweden a few years later. Such administrative means were obviously unsuited for establishing a permanent church body in a new country, especially after the mother tongue was no longer in common use. After the Revolution the Swedish churches were still under Lutheran control, but they worshiped according to the liturgy of the Church of England. Finally the congregations petitioned the Swedish authorities to grant them freedom to call their own pastors, and in 1789 Archibishop Uno von Troil sent a letter to the Swedish missions stating that the king had granted their request, and the two pastors still remaining were free to return to Sweden at their earliest convenience. Rev. Lawrence

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[69] Ibid., p. 184.

Girelius returned to Sweden in 1791, but Collin remained as pastor of Gloria Dei until his death in 1831.[70]

All the former Swedish churches are now under Episcopal control, though the position of Gloria Dei is somewhat unique since it has become a national shrine. The Christina congregation is now Holy Trinity Church in Wilmington, Delaware, and the former parishes of Raccoon and Penns Neck have become Trinity Parish in Swedesboro, New Jersey. Local inhabitants call all three churches by the same name--"Old Swedes," so both readers and tourists must beware as to whether this name means the church in Philadelphia (Wicaco), Wilmington, or Swedesboro.

The Swedish churches' main contribution to American church music lies in their position as a stable body upholding liturgical traditions at a time when most American denominations restricted music to psalmody, and rather limited psalmody at that. Their extensive use of hymnbooks, their intonations of liturgical texts such as the collects, and their early introduction of organ support for the services all undoubtedly had a marked influence upon church life in the Philadelphia area, where the major churches were fully aware of one another's activities. The Swedish churches provided a vital support and model for the German Lutherans when they first began to organize congregations. Though the Germans were soon destined to eclipse their partners in faith, the honors of many American firsts--including the first full-length Lutheran services, the first published Lutheran hymns, and the first organ in a Lutheran Church--still fall to the Swedes.

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[70] Ibid., pp. 213 and 219.

CHAPTER II

DUTCH AND GERMAN CHURCHES IN NEW YORK

Dutch Lutherans in New Amsterdam

Although the Swedish churches were the first to have organized congregations, the Dutch Lutherans of New Amsterdam were the earliest to settle in what is now the United States. A few Lutherans came to America with the first settlers of the Dutch West India Company. However, the colony officially recognized only the Dutch Reformed Church, and the first Lutheran families were not permitted to organize a congregation and call a minister.[1] Finally in 1657 Rev. John Ernst Gütwasser came to assist the Lutherans of New Amsterdam, but the Dutch Reformed Church was so antagonistic to him that they prevented him from holding services, and the officials deported him in 1659. It was not until August, 1664, when Colonel Richard Nicolls, commanding an English fleet, took over New Amsterdam in the name of the Duke of York that the Lutherans were allowed to worship in freedom.[2]

Even so, it was another five years before Jacob Fabritius, the first Lutheran pastor permitted to hold services, finally arrived in New York. Fabritius' conduct was unsatisfactory, however, allegedly because of excessive drinking. A short time after his arrival he found it expedient to

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[1]Abdel Ross Wentz, The Lutheran Church in American History (Philadelphia: United Lutheran Publishing House, 1933); see also Jacobs, A History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. . ., pp. 46-59.

[2]In addition to Wentz and Jacobs, this brief historical survey derives in part from Harry J. Kreider, Lutheranism in Colonial New York (Ann Arbor: Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1942), pp. 3-20.

leave the Dutch and minister to the Swedes along the Delaware, where he apparently was able to amend his faults and serve faithfully for many years. Fabritius brought a copy of the Amsterdam Kerckenagenda with him from Holland. This church order clearly reflects the Reformed influence, for the traditional Lutheran liturgical order appears only in the communion service. Otherwise the emphasis is upon psalms and the sermon, as in Calvinism.[3] It is, therefore, apparent that at this time music played a smaller role with the Dutch Lutherans than was true of the Swedes.

The primary influences upon the early New York Lutherans were the church in Amsterdam and its close relation to the Hamburg church, the Halle pietistic tendencies, and the three German churches in London. These three London churches played an important role in the emigration of thousands of Lutherans to the New World. They were: (1) Holy Trinity Church, organized in 1618 to serve the merchants and employees of the factory of the German Hansa in London. The church was under the supervision of the church at Hamburg and followed the Hamburg liturgy. (2) St. Mary's of Savoy, organized in 1694 by members of Holy Trinity who had been denied participation in a pastoral election. (3) The Royal Chapel at St. James, organized through the influence of Prince George of Denmark, consort of Queen Anne. The chapel received most of its pastors from Halle, and these men were important links between American Lutherans and the German churches.[4]

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[3] Ibid., p. 66.

[4] Ibid., pp. 3-11.

Throughout its early history the New York church continued to follow the Amsterdam liturgy, and in 1735 a church conference made it mandatory that no order or ritual other than that printed at Amsterdam in 1689 could be used. The title to this liturgy reads:

> Het Formulierboeck, vervattende VII. Formulieren, die by de Christelyke Gemeentens, toegedaan de onveranderde Augsburgse Confessie in deeze Nederlanden, gebruykt worden.[5] ("Order of Worship, Comprising VII Services Which Are Used by the Christian Congregations Adhering to the Unaltered Augsburg Confession in the Netherlands").

The order of worship for the main Sunday service consisted of an opening prayer, reading of the Gospel for the day, an opening hymn, reading of one or two chapters of Scripture with brief comment upon their application to daily life, a second hymn, the sermon, a third hymn, and the Benediction.

As was the case with the Swedish churches, the Dutch Lutherans depended heavily upon the mother country for supplies. A letter to the Amsterdam Consistory dated December 19, 1671, from Rev. Berhard Arnzius (who succeeded Fabritius) requests "at the first opportunity a quantity of Lutheran psalm books, either in cloth or in linen. . ."[6] Some years later a letter dated November 10, 1705, from Justus Falckner, who went to New York to serve the Dutch after his ordination in Gloria Dei, laments: "Our congregation here is very small, because its members are dwelling far and near throughout the country; the majority of them are poor and many, especially the young people, ignorant on account of the lack

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[5] (Amsterdam: Joan Blaeu, 1689).

[6] Arnold H. Van Laer (trans.), "The Lutheran Church in New York, 1649-1772," Bulletin of the New York Public Library, XLVIII (November, 1944), 916.

of Bibles, Catechisms, Psalm and Hymn Books..."[7] One may judge how "far and near" the congregation dwelled by the fact that Falckner's parish extended from Long Island to Albany, including settlements on both sides of the Hudson and in New Jersey!

Correspondence between the New York church and Amsterdam authorities shows that in 1713 the Consistory of Amsterdam gave the struggling congregation fifty psalters and fifty Paradijshofjens ("Gardens of Paradise"). Two years later they sent twenty-four additional psalm-books along with two copies of the church orders, the latter in response to a letter from Falckner dated October 23, 1713.[8] A second letter of Falckner's on October 3, 1715, thanked the Amsterdam Consistory for sending this shipment.[9] The small number of hymnbooks, when contrasted with the hundreds sent by the Church of Sweden, is indicative of the weakness and relative instability of the New York congregation--an affliction which it was not able to overcome for many years.

Like his pioneer contemporary, Andrew Rudman, Justus Falckner was also a hymn writer. At least one of his texts, "Auf, ihr Christen, Christi Glieder," found its way into several German hymnals. The text has its own melody, listed in Zahn's catalog as numbers 4878 through 4881. Falckner probably wrote this hymn while he was a student at Halle, and it first appeared in the Halle Geistreiches Gesangbuch of 1697. Freylinghausen included it in his popular editions of the Halle hymnal, and it is also

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[7] Ibid., XLIX (January, 1945), 4.

[8] Ibid., pp. 9-12.

[9] Ibid., p. 14.

known in an English translation as "Rise, ye children of salvation."[10]

In 1708 Falckner published a book entitled Grondlycke Onderricht van sekere voorname Hoofd-stucken, der waren, loutern, saligmakenden, Christelycken Leere ("Basic Instruction in Certain Essential Principal Parts of the True, Pure, Saving Christian Teaching").[11] An appendix following page 126 contains the texts of three hymns. Until the discovery of Rudman's earlier imprints, these texts were thought to be the first Lutheran hymns published in America. None of the hymns contains either notation or reference to a tune. The first hymn consists of three verses with the title, "Het Christelyck Geloove" ("The Christian Creed"). It is a Dutch translation of "Wir glauben all an einem Gott." The second hymn has four verses designated "Voor de Predicatie" ("Before the sermon"), while the third hymn, without title, consists of two rather long verses of twelve lines each. Schmauk's The Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania gives a facsimile reprint of verses two, three, and four of the second hymn, and the entire third hymn.[12] Schmauk believed that the second and third hymns were written by Falckner; however, it appears more likely that both are translations from the German. The third hymn is definitely a translation of the first two verses of "Herr Gott, dein Treu mit Gnaden leist," which is listed with its melody as number 8311 in Zahn's catalog. The second hymn, "O

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[10] John Julian, A Dictionary of Hymnology (New York: Dover, 1957), I, 363.

[11] (Nieuw-York: W. Bradfordt, 1708). In MCAL, reel 20; also No. 1350 in Charles Evans, American Bibliography (Various publishers, 1903-1955). Hereafter items in the Evans bibliography will be identified simply by number, e.g. "Evans 1350."

[12] XI, 122.

Godt, die um gedachtenis," may also be a translation, as the text is at times rather rough and forced, but as yet the original--if it exists--has not been identified.

German Influence Becomes Dominant

During the years of 1709 and 1710 the arrival of the first Palatine immigrants brought a marked change to the character of the New York congregations. In 1704 the Rev. Joshua Kocherthal, a pastor at Landau, visited England to inquire about an emigration of his people to America. Instead of going to Carolina, as they had originally planned, Kocherthal and fifty-three companions reached New York on the last day of 1708. Governor Robert Hunter of New York negotiated for three thousand more Palatines to come to his colony, with the intention of establishing an industry to manufacture turpentine, tar, pitch, and rosin for the English navy. During the next two years about 2,200 of the original 3,000 Palatines actually arrived in New York, the remainder perishing enroute. Most of the immigrants settled in the upper part of the state, but they experienced many difficulties, largely because the tar and pitch industry was a failure, and Governor Hunter became antagonistic to their needs. Consequently, many of the settlers left New York and moved to Pennsylvania, where they found a more hospitable atmosphere.[13]

This influx of poor German immigrants caused many long-lasting

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[13] Cf. Henry E. Jacobs, The German Emigration to America: 1709-1740 ("Pennsylvania German Society," Vol. VIII; Lancaster: By the society, 1898) and Walter A. Knittle, The Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1936) for good studies concerning the Palatine emigrants.

effects on the history of Lutheranism in New York. Because most of the Palatines were in utter poverty as well as lacking even the basic essentials of an education, they were in no position to establish strong churches. It is true that some of the congregations which they established in the Hudson and the Schoharie valleys are flourishing today, but their early history is a tale of constant struggle. Under such conditions any music other than the most simple hymn singing could hardly exist; the churches were not only poor and lacked pastors, but they could not afford an organ or even a schoolmaster to teach them singing. As Dr. Harry J. Kreider, an expert on the history of New York Lutheranism, has observed, it is, therefore, hardly surprising that the protocol of the Lutheran Church in New York City for 1702-1750 contains no reference at all to music.[14]

Even the New York congregation was at times in a very primitive musical condition. Rev. Wilhelm Christoph Berkenmeyer, who arrived in New York in 1725, two years after the death of Justus Falckner, sent a letter to the Amsterdam Consistory dated October 21, 1725, in which he states:

> The people are not capable of singing a hymn properly, and upon several occasions they have stuck in the middle of a hymn, and I have had to go thus to the altar or ascend the pulpit, although I permit the precentor to sing whatever he likes, and what they have been accustomed to sing. And now if the seventy-three-year-old one dies [i.e. the precentor], they will have hardly anyone in the entire congregation who is capable of acting as reader.[15]

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[14] Personal letter from Harry J. Kreider, November 3, 1959.

[15] Van Laer, Bulletin of the New York Public Library, XLIX (February, 1945), 104.

This same letter of Berkenmeyer's mentions that he has found a copy of the church liturgy, and in addition to the above remarks he also complains of the scarcity of hymnbooks.

Since New York Lutheranism had its beginnings in a Dutch environment, church organization quite naturally followed the Dutch practice of letting each congregation be an entity unto itself. In an attempt to change this situation Rev. Berkenmeyer led in taking the first steps toward a loose federation of the various churches in New York and New Jersey. At his insistence these scattered congregations adopted a constitution, which went into effect in 1736. Some sections of this constitution contain references to the position of music in the liturgy, which is basically that of the Amsterdam Consistory of 1689. Four manuscript copies of this liturgy were made so that the congregations at New York, Loonenburg (Athens), Hackensack, and Raritan (New Jersey) could each have one.[16] The order for morning worship comprised: (1) an opening prayer, (2) reading of the Gospel, (3) first hymn, (4) Scripture readings and a brief explanation of the same, (5) second hymn, (6) the sermon, preceded by a prayer and the hymn, "Herr Jesu Christ, dich zu uns wend" or "Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist," (7) Absolution and the common morning prayer, (8) closing hymn, and (9) the Benediction. For afternoon worship the service consisted of a Bible reading, hymn, sermon, singing of "Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier," prayer, another hymn, and examination of the youth in catechetical

[16] Karl Kretzmann, "The Constitution of the First Lutheran Synod in America," Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly, IX (April, 1936), 3-9. The discussion of the 1736 church orders derives primarily from this article.

instruction. The afternoon service was intended primarily for the instruction of the children. When communion was celebrated, the order was like that for morning worship up through the sermon, after which the service of consecration occurred. During the distribution the liturgy states that "proper psalms and hymns should be sung."

The mention of specific chorales as a regular part of the liturgy shows a continuation of late sixteenth and seventeenth-century German Lutheran practices. Chorales were primarily an addition to the liturgy in much the same way that hymns are added to services in the liturgical denominations of today. That is, while the liturgy allows for appropriate hymns at certain places, these hymns basically remain outside the liturgy proper. Besides this conventional use of hymns, however, Lutheran practices also assigned functions within the liturgy to certain chorales. These functions may be grouped into four classes. First, chorales could replace parts of the old Latin liturgy, as when an appropriate chorale substituted for the introit. Second, chorales could reproduce parts of the Latin liturgy in the vernacular, which is true of "Wir glauben all an einem Gott," a vernacular paraphrase of the Credo. Third, the congregation could sing chorales to cover liturgical functions, a practice used by the New York churches when they state that "proper psalms and hymns should be sung" during the distribution of the Elements. Finally, chorales sometimes had a new and independent liturgical function, as in the singing of a verse to invoke the Holy Spirit just before the sermon. In the 1736 New York liturgy either "Herr Jesu Christ, dich zu uns wend" or "Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist" is used for this purpose. Since the Dutch Lutherans had eliminated the old Lutheran liturgy

in favor of a simpler alternation of prayers, scripture readings, and hymns, there are few occasions where the first two types of liturgical use of chorales occurred in the New York services, unless one considers the opening hymn as a replacement for the introit, which in a way it was.[17]

The 1736 New York liturgy apparently remained in use beyond the middle of the eighteenth century. Since it was actually a version of the 1689 Amsterdam liturgy, it represented nothing new, but merely made formal acknowledgment of the orders of worship already in use in the New York churches. It also assured that unwarranted deviations from the Amsterdam liturgy would not occur. The Muhlenberg liturgy of 1748, which we shall discuss in chapter iii, gradually replaced the older New York liturgy as the influence of Pennsylvania Lutheranism came to dominate the New York churches.

The Psalmodia Germanica (1756)

Although it was not an official church publication, the New York Lutherans played an influential role in publishing the first full-size Lutheran hymnal to be printed on this side of the Atlantic in the English language. This was the 1756 New York reprint of Jacobi's Psalmodia Germanica,[18] which first appeared in 1722 in London. Jacobi published a second part to his collection in 1725, while a combined one-volume edition was issued in 1732. J. Haberkorn added a supplement to the London edition in 1765, but, of course, this had no influence on the New York reprint. The title to the

[17] Cf. Arthur C. Piepkorn, "The Function of the Hymn in Early Lutheran Liturgies," The Lutheran Scholar, V (January, 1948), 1-8.

[18] Evans 7772. Published in MCAL, reel 21.

New York edition reads: Psalmodia Germanica: or, the German Psalmody. Translated from the High Dutch. Together with Their Proper Tunes, and Thorough Bass.[19] Although the title page clearly states that the collection includes melodies with their figured basses, this is incorrect. No music appears in the New York reprint, although the first line of the German hymn and the tune (if the German hymn did not have its own tune, or if another one is desired) are printed before each text. The main body of the book contains 188 pages, and it is bound with a supplement which extends from pages 189 to 279. Including the supplement, there is a total of 120 hymn texts. At the conclusion of the volume one finds both an English and a "Dutch" index, the latter actually being in high German, John Christian Jacobi, who was editor and also signed the preface of the first London edition, was associated with the German court chapel at St. James during the pastorates of Rev. William Anthony Boehme and Rev. Frederick Michael Ziegenhagen. Boehme served from 1705 to 1722, and Ziegenhagen from 1722 until 1750.

Before the 1756 American reprint, the New York congregation relied upon a few copies of the 1732 London edition for their English-language hymns. While Muhlenberg was at New York in 1751-1752, in an unsuccessful attempt to heal a schism in the congregation, his journals contain a few scattered references to singing from this London edition. Muhlenberg did not find the congregation in very good order when he arrived there in May, 1751. He could not locate "even so much as a proper formulary. . . though I am required to conduct everything in exact accord with the agenda in

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[19](New-York: H. Gaine, 1756).

use."[20] An entry in his diary for July 28, 1751, reads:

> Having only one copy of the English hymn book containing our hymns, I had to read each stanza separately and sing it for them. I soon observed that the English people did not know our tunes, so I selected familiar English melodies which fitted some of our Lutheran hymns; then the whole congregation sang very pleasingly and inspiringly, for the English Church people here in New York know how to sing very beautifully and acceptably because they have a fine organ in their church and have been taught how to sing.[21]

This reference to "the English hymn book containing our hymns" means the Psalmodia Germanica. The Psalmodia was also used in the other New York area congregations, e.g. Muhlenberg states that the church at Hackensack used "our English hymn book."[22]

The New York churches were the first Lutheran congregations in America to make regular use of English-language worship. This was undoubtedly due in part to the fact that originally they were under Dutch patronage, using the Dutch language, and when immigration from Holland ceased, the churches naturally evolved toward speaking the dominant language of their area, namely English. Moreover, unlike German, Dutch was not a major European language; consequently, it had much less resistance to English than did German, which still survives today in some Lutheran congregations in America. After the Palatine immigration German services often paralleled the Dutch worship, but the old Dutch services gradually turned to English, until by the late eighteenth century the major languages of New York Lutheranism were German and English instead of German

[20]Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein (eds.), The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1942-1958), I, 279.

[21]Ibid., p. 300.

[22]Ibid., p. 297.

and Dutch. This strong emphasis upon English worship led to the publication in 1795 of the first official Lutheran hymnbook in English to be printed in the United States, which we shall discuss below.

While Muhlenberg was in New York all three languages were in use, and sometimes the congregation would sing the hymns simultaneously in different tongues. One can imagine that this could easily lead to confusion and a result that would be considerably less than edifying! Muhlenberg's diary for June 7, 1752, says that the Dutch still had old editions of psalm and hymn books which lacked many spiritually rich (geistreiche) hymns, while the Germans used the Marburg hymnal. Since the Germans and the Dutch sang together, it was a problem to find a hymn that all knew and was in the different books. Because of this Muhlenberg translated "Jesu deine tiefe Wunden" into Dutch, so that the two groups could sing it together. The Germans could sing this hymn from the Marburg songbook, but Muhlenberg had to line it out for the Dutch.[23] In an unsuccessful attempt to alleviate the hymnal shortage, a letter of February 4, 1754, from the New York congregation to the Consistory of Amsterdam requested fifty copies of the Marnburg [sic] hymnal, but the Amsterdam Consistory minutes for April 17, 1754, state that "we have no Marnburg Hymnals and they are unknown to us."[24]

Under such circumstances it was not surprising that the New York Lutherans gave their support to a new printing of the Psalmodia Germanica.

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[23] Ibid., p. 331.

[24] Van Laer, Bulletin of the New York Public Library, L (May, 1946), 410.

Here was an answer to the hymnal confusion, and while it did not put an end to German services, it provided a big boost to the use of English as well as being a unifying force among the churches in New York and New Jersey. The Psalmodia Germanica remained the unofficial English hymnal for the New York churches until the appearance of Kunze's 1795 publication.

Turning to actual accounts of the use of music during the services, the dedication of a new German Lutheran Church in New York City on May 1, 1767, was one of the most interesting events in the history of the New York church before the Revolution. As told by Muhlenberg, after the procession had entered the church:

> A band of German hautboy players, who had recently arrived with the recruits, played several evangelical hymns on their wind instruments. These had been translated from German into English and were sung by the whole large assembly. It sounded magnificent. Pastor Hartwich then offered a powerful prayer with reference to the dedication, and there was a response to this with instrumental and vocal music.[25]

The hymns which were played and sung on this occasion were "Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr," "Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier," "Hallelujah, Lob, Preis und Ehr," "Nun danket alle Gott," and "Herr Jesu Christ, dich zu uns wend." While the use of an entire band of wind instrument players was rather unusual, it was a fairly common practice in eighteenth-century American Lutheran churches to have a few instruments assist the singing, either in lieu of an organ or to give the organ added support.

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[25] Tappert, II, 329.

Hymns of Praise (1792)

After the American Revolution the fortunes of the New York churches began to look upward. Some of the more prosperous congregations acquired organs and were able to support active schools. Since the organist was invariably the schoolmaster, this brought a consequent improvement in church music. An interesting imprint of 1792 published by Zion Lutheran Church of Loonenburg (now Athens), New York, gives an account of the service of dedication when the church organ was refitted. The full title of this publication reads:

> Hymns of Praise, Sung by the Youth of the Evangelical Lutheran Zion's Congregation of Loonenburg, in the County of Albany, State of New-York: on the Occasion When Their Church Organ Was Refitted, in the Year of Our Lord M, DCC, XCII.[26]

The back side of the title page contains a list of scriptural admonitions for encouraging the singing of psalms and hymns. These include familiar passages from Psalms 148, 149, and 150, as well as Matthew 21:16 and Colossians 3:16. Below these scriptural references one finds the following paragraph:

> That the God of Love may at all Times inspire the Hearts of all true Believers in his Son Jesus, but especially the Members of this Congregation, to sing Hymns of Praise to his Honor and Glory, as well as for the Edification of themselves and their Children, is the sincere Wish of their affectionate Friend and Servant in the Gospel of Christ Jesus.
>
> JOHN FREDERICK ERNST,
> Minister to the Congregation

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[26] (Hudson, New York: Ashbel Stoddard, 1792). Modern reproduction in MCAL, reel 1. It is not clear why the editors of the MCAL ascribe this imprint to J. C. Kunze, since there is no indication that he had anything to do with it. Evans does not list this imprint.

The first nine pages of this little book contain the texts and order of music for the special service.[27] After a prelude on the organ, the choir sang the first verse of "Praise thou, my soul, the most mighty and great King of Glory," which is a translation of "Lobe den Herren" as taken from the 1756 Psalmodia Germanica, page 261. The first line of the verse bears the designation "solo," the second line "duetto," and the remainder "chorus," after which the full choir continued with an abbreviated "Te Deum" translated into English. Thereupon the organ played an interlude, followed immediately by a chorus, evidently written or adapted for the occasion, beginning "Praise ye, ye Zionites! Praise ye the Lord!" This number consists of what appear to be two different hymns, the second of which is for solo voice, thus creating an alternation between full chorus and solo. Both the chorus and the soloist each sang five verses. After a second organ interlude there was a duet comprising five verses of "Jesus, Jesus, nought but Jesus." This hymn occurs on page 200 of the 1756 Psalmodia Germanica, and is a translation of "Jesus, Jesus, nichts als Jesus." A third organ interlude led into the singing of four verses of "Lord Christ, reveal Thy holy face" by the entire congregation ("Herr Jesu Christ, dich zu uns wend," as translated in the Psalmodia, page 53). Between each of the verses the organist played appropriate instrumental interludes. Thereafter a fourth number by the organ introduced four verses of "Hallelujah! Love, Thanks and Praise," sung by the chorus and again with short sections for the organ between each verse. This hymn is a translation of "Hallelujah! Lob, Preis, und Ehr,"

[27] The musical texts for this service are found in Appendix A.

and if the performance followed the Psalmodia Germanica (page 263), which it undoubtedly did, the text was sung to the melody of "Wie schön leuchtet." After a fifth organ interlude there was a duet comprising four verses of "Raise your devotion, mortal tongues," a translation of "Auf diesen Tag bedenken wir" (Psalmodia, page 25), likewise with short interludes for organ between each verse. A final organ interlude introduced four verses of "Wonderful Creator! sov'reign Arbitrator" sung by the entire chorus with the organ playing between verses. This hymn is a translation of "Wunderbarer König," and is on page 130 of the 1756 Psalmodia Germanica. As a sort of finale, the entire service concluded with a single verse which, judging by the meter, was probably sung to "Lobe den Herren"--surely a fitting chorale melody with which to close a festive service of this type.

Unfortunately we do not have any of the actual music which was used during this service, except in so far as the chorale tunes and figured basses are found in the standard chorale books. The above description, however, is sufficient to show that the musical performance was relatively involved, especially for a small, rural town near Albany, New York, in the year 1792. The eighteenth-century American Lutherans delighted in taking one or more chorales and arranging them so as to form a type of cantata in which organ, soloists, chorus, and congregation alternated and combined forces in various ways so as to create a distinctive and colorful performance. As the above description demonstrates, such a procedure was also true of this cantata. Although it is impossible to tell whether the chorus sang in parts or in unison, the use of the term "duetto" before some verses would seem to imply part-singing, certainly in those particular

passages where it occurred. Since the organist-schoolmaster undoubtedly had many hours of rehearsal time at his disposal, there is every reason to believe that the school children who formed the choir were capable of performing regular part-music.

Following the text of the service itself are thirty different hymns, of which twenty-seven are found in the 1756 reprint of the Psalmodia Germanica. This fact alone emphasizes the important position of Jacobi's collection in Lutheran church life in New York.

Kunze's 1795 Hymnal

Three years after the Athens, New York, congregation published the Hymns of Praise, the Rev. John Christopher Kunze edited the most ambitious English-language hymnal for Lutherans yet attempted by anyone in the United States up to that time. Its full title reads: A Hymn and Prayer-Book for the Use of Such Lutheran Churches as Use the English Language.[28] Kunze had studied at the Universities of Leipzig and Halle, and had first come to America in 1770, where he ministered to the Philadelphia Lutherans before going to New York in 1784. He was instrumental in making English the dominant language of New York Lutherans, and he also introduced many of Muhlenberg's methods and procedures, including the 1786 Pennsylvania liturgy, into the New York Synod.

Writing in the preface to A Hymn and Prayer-Book, Kunze states:

> Most all of the hymns are translations from the German, and were used before in their churches. All except those

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[28](New York: Hurtin and Commardinger, 1795). Published in MCAL, reel 1; Evans 28939.

> in the appendix are taken from printed books, particularly the German Psalmody, printed in London and re-printed at New-York, by H. Gaine, 1756, with which many serious English persons have been greatly delighted; and from an excellent collection of the Moravian Brethren, printed in London, 1789. In the appendix only I have taken the liberty to add a few of my own, and of the Rev. Messrs. Ernst's and Strebeck's, both translations and original compositions.[29]

Rev. Ernst was John Frederick Ernst, pastor of the Athens, New York, congregation who signed the preface to the 1792 Hymns of Praise, while Strebeck was Kunze's assistant in New York City.

Counting the twenty hymns in the appendix, Kunze's hymnal includes 240 hymns followed by an additional 163 pages giving the liturgy[30] for the various services, the Epistle and Gospel lessons, prayers, a short catechism, and various doctrinal statements. Of the hymns themselves, over 140 are translations from the German, primarily from the Psalmodia Germanica, while about a hundred are from the English Moravian hymnal of 1789. At least 74 of the texts are originally from the English, of which 65 are found in the Moravian collection.[31] The hymnal is arranged both according to the liturgical year and also according to headings such as "Baptism," "Morning," "Evening," etc. Although no actual music occurs in the hymnal, a number precedes each text so as to indicate an appropriate chorale tune, of which sixty are listed in a special index of tunes in the

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[29] Ibid., pp. iv-v.

[30] The liturgy and other items are bound before, rather than after the main body of hymns in the Library of Congress copy of the 1795 hymnal.

[31] W. J. Mann, B. M. Schumucker, and W. Germann (eds.), Nachrichten von den vereinigten Deutschen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Gemeinen in Nord-America (Allentown: Brobst, Diehl, 1886), I, 637.

back of the book. Since there are 240 texts in the collection, this means that each tune has to serve an average of four texts, though some serve many more, while others serve fewer. Since these melodies are undoubtedly indicative of the most popular chorale tunes used in American Lutheran churches at the time, a complete listing of these melodies (following Kunze's numbering and spelling) is as follows:

1. Christus der ist mein leben
2. Der lieben sonne lich und pracht
3. Gott sei dank in aller welt
4. Gott des Himmels und der erden
5. Jesus meine zuversicht
6. Jesu der du meine sele
7. Jesu meine freude
8. Mein Gott das herz ich--oder: Lobt Gott ihr christ.
9. Nun danket alle Gott--oder: O Gott du frommer G.
10. Nach dir O Herr verlanget mich--oder: Die sel. Christi heilge mich
11. O Jesu Christ mein schoensts licht
12. Ringe recht, wenn Gottes gnade
13. Sey lob und ehr dem hoechsten gut
14. Schmucke dich O liebe sele
15. Valet will ich dir geben
16. Vater unse [sic] im Himmelreich
17. Wo soll ichr fliehen hin
18. Wer nur den lieben Gott laest walten
19. Wer ist wohl wie du
20. Mir nach spricht Christus unser held
21. Wie schoen leuchtet der morgen stern
22. Wachet auf, ruft uns die stimme
23. Wach auf mein herz und singe
24. Werde munter mein gemuete
25. Wie soll ich dich empfangen
26. Gelobet seist du Jesu Christ
27. Erschienen ist der herliche tag
28. Herr Christ, der einge Gottes Sohn
29. Was mein Gott will das gescheh
30. Nun ruhen alle waelter
31. O du liebe meiner liebe
32. O Lamm Gottes unschuldig
33. O traurigkeit, O hertzeleid
34. Ein Laemlein geht und traegt die
35. Liebster Jesu wir sind hier

36. Herzliebster Jusu ,[sic] was hast du
37. Christus der uns selig macht
38. Wann meine sund mich kraenken
39. Auf meinen lieben Gott
40. Fahre fort, Zion, fahre fort
41. Dir, dir Jehovah, will ich singen
42. Was Gott tut, das ist wohl gethan
43. Ermuntre dich, mein schwaches
44. Warum soll ich mich den graemen
45. Mein Heiland nimt die sunder an
46. Erleucht mich, Herr, mein licht
47. Ach Gott und Herr
48. Straf mich nicht in deinem zorn
49. In dich hab ich gehoffet Herr
50. Kommt her zu mir, spricht
51. Eine feste burg ist unser
52. Ach was soll ich sunder machen
53. Liebe die du mich zum bilde
54. Nun lob meine sele den
55. Lobe den Herren, den machtig
56. Ich ruf zu dir Herr Jesu Christ
57. O ewigkeit du donnerwort
58. Herr Gott, dich loben wir
59. Grosser prophete mein herze begeret--oder: Schoenster Immanuel herzoch dor frommen
60. Hir legt mein sinn sich vor dir nieder

The orders of worship which are in the back of Kunze's hymnal are essentially translations (by Rev. George Strebeck) of those which the Ministerium of Pennsylvania published in 1786 as a companion volume to the Erbauliche Lieder-Samlung.[32] While they are in the full Lutheran tradition, they tend to be "low church." Sections of the liturgy, such as the Kyrie and the Sanctus, are not sung, but are spoken. The Sanctus itself is highly abbreviated, while the Gloria, Credo, and Agnus Dei do not even appear. It is likely, however, that some of the corresponding chorales, like "Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr" for the Gloria or "Christe,

[32]The first edition spells "Sammlung" with only one "m"; later editions spell it the modern way.

du Lamm Gottes" for the Agnus Dei, were often sung even though they may not be specifically listed in the liturgy. The outline for public worship was:

1. An introductory verse or verses from a suitable hymn.

2. The minister leads the congregation in public confession, concluding with the words of the Kyrie.

3. Salutation and response.

4. Suitable prayer and reading of the Epistle.

5. Sermon hymn. During the singing the minister enters the pulpit.

6. Sermon.

7. A long general prayer or the Litany.

8. "A few verses are sung before which the alms are gathered in the church."

9. Closing hymn, after which the pastor again gives the salutation with response, a short prayer, and the Benediction. When communion is celebrated, the service concludes in a different manner, starting after the sermon thus:

7. Service of confession and the Absolution.

8. Salutation and response, followed by an abbreviated Sanctus telescoped into the liturgy as follows:

> Minister: Lift up your heart.
> Congregation: We lift it up to the Lord.
> Minister: Holy, holy, holy is the Lord Sabaoth.
> Congregation: All the earth is full of his glory.

9. Exhortation to the communicants, the Lord's Prayer, the Words of Institution, and distribution of the Elements. "During the Communion,

hymns of the Sacrament or of Christ's suffering and death are sung."

10. A concluding statement by the pastor, followed by the Benediction.

Hymnals by Strebeck and Williston

Kunze's hymnal did not prove to be entirely satisfactory, mainly because some of the translations were rather awkward, and the English texts did not easily fit the German tunes. Consequently, only two years later Kunze's assistant, Rev. George Strebeck, published a second hymnal with the title: A Collection of Evangelical Hymns Made from Different Authors and Collections for the English Lutheran Church in New York.[33] In the preface or "Advertisement," Strebeck writes:

> The unsuitableness of the metres of our English Lutheran Hymn Book, published in 1795 by Messrs. Hurtin and Commardinger, under the inspection of the Rev. Dr. Kunze, made it peculiarly necessary to provide another collection for the use of the English Lutheran Church. In the present collection I have endeavored to retain as many of the Hymns published in the former, as could well be done. All those have this mark * prefixed to them; -- for the rest I am indebted to various Authors, and collections of reputation.[34]

Strebeck's preface also states: "I hope none will be so bigotted to mere name, as to censure us for making selections from Authors who are not of our own profession in religion: and who, perhaps, in some points differ from us in sentiment."[35] These authors included prominent English

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[33](New York: John Tiebout, 1797). Reproduced in MCAL, reel 1; Evans 32567.

[34]Ibid., p. 3.

[35]Ibid.

writers like Watts, Doddridge, Cowper, and Newton, and their presence in a Lutheran hymnal demonstrates the English influences which eventually were to overpower the traditional Lutheran chorales during the first decades of the nineteenth century.

Strebeck's hymnal is arranged both according to the church year and according to general topics like "Creation," "Faith," "Means of Grace," etc. It does not include a liturgy; neither does it give reference to specific tunes, identifying texts only by meters. These meters, incidentally, show a sharp decline in the irregular but forceful meters of the German chorales, and an equally sharp increase in the simpler meters such as short, long, and common meter. The contents of this hymnal would seem to indicate that at heart Strebeck was more an Englishman than a German. This is further borne out by the fact that a short time after its publication he led a portion of the Lutheran congregation in New York into the Episcopal church, and he himself became an Episcopalian.

Strebeck's defection to the Episcopal church was not as drastic a step as it might at first seem. Many eighteenth-century American Lutherans tended to think of the Church of England as being simply an English-language version of the Lutheran church. This attitude was so prevalent that when the Synod of New York met at Rhinebeck in September, 1797, the Lutheran pastors adopted a resolution stating that because of the great similarities existing between the Episcopal and the Lutheran churches, the ministerium would not recognize a new Lutheran church which used the English language in places where the ministration of an Episcopal church was readily

available.[36]

The same year as the Rhinebeck resolution Kunze further expounded the Lutheran views toward the Episcopal church in the preface to a book of sermons honoring Lawrence Van Buskirk,[37] a student of Kunze's who was preparing for ordination, but whose untimely death prevented him from fulfilling this aim. After noting that "there is not a great difference in point of doctrine in all the protestant churches," he proceeds to add:

> The reformed church of England was afterwards under Edward VI, and Queen Elizabeth so modeled and modified, that it bore the nearest relation to the church established in Sweden, Denmark, Saxony, Prussia, Hanover, Wurtemberg, &c. The Lutherans have bishops, superintendents, seniors and inspectors. The thirty nine articles fully agree with the Augustan confession and every Lutheran can subscribe them. The two German chaplains at St. James's use a German translation of the English liturgy. The king of Great-Britain, as a Lutheran, is the head of the church of Hanover, and one of his princes on this account is entitled to the bishopric of Osnabrug.

The preface is signed: "John C. Kunze, D.D. Professor of the Oriental Languages in Columbia College, and Senior of the Lutheran Clergy in the State of New York."

Rev. Ralph Williston succeeded Strebeck after the latter's defection. Apparently the Lutherans did not wish to continue using Strebeck's hymnal, so they asked Williston to compile a new collection. This he did,

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[36] "Transcript of the Manuscript Protocol of the New York Ministerium," MCAL, reel 18, p. 45.

[37] [Lawrence Van Buskirk], Six Sermons, Preached by the Late Mr. Lawrence V. Buskirk, B.A. Candidate for the Holy Ministry (New York: T. Kirk, 1797), pp. iv-vi. Reproduced in MCAL, reel 1; Evans 33111.

under the title of A Choice Selection of Evangelical Hymns.[38] Williston's hymnal was partly an outgrowth of a resolution passed by the New York Ministerium at a meeting in Rhinebeck in October, 1803. At this time the Ministerium resolved that a committee should consider collecting and printing an English hymnal for the use of the New York congregations.[39] This hymnal, therefore, was intended not only for Williston's own congregation, but also to be the official English hymnal of the New York Ministerium. Kunze, as Senior of the Lutheran clergy in the state, wrote an introductory paragraph endorsing the hymnal and recommending it for the use of churches associated with the New York Ministerium. He states that he has examined the hymns and found them to be compatible with Lutheran doctrine. Williston himself adds a few prefatory remarks, justifying the publication of the third different hymnal for New York Lutherans in only eleven years. "A new edition, or a new compilation, became indispensably necessary, there not being a single copy to be had of the former collection: and the obvious deficiency of the former collection, determined us to make a new compilation."

Despite Kunze's assuring remarks, the whole plan and temper of the hymnal shows Methodist, Presbyterian, and other non-Lutheran influences. The old German chorales have almost disappeared; only a few of the most popular still survive. Isaac Watts and the Wesley family provide the two most important sources for the hymns, though other English writers like

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[38](New York: J. C. Totten, 1806).

[39]"Transcript of the Manuscript Protocol. . . ," p. 101.

Anne Steele and Doddridge are also represented. The hymn arrangement follows the church year only in a general sort of way, giving precedence to classifications such as "The Being and Perfections of God" or "Influences of the Spirit of God." There is no index of melodies or references to the proper tunes. The only metric indications are the familiar English abbreviations--L.M. (long meter), C.M. (common meter), S.M. (short meter), and P.M. (peculiar meter). Obviously many of the old German chorale tunes could not be used, since they did not fit such limited meters. The main body of the book contains 437 hymns on 307 pages.

In addition to the hymns, Williston also provides a liturgy, which is essentially the same as that in Kunze's hymnal. It is a translation of the Pennsylvania liturgy, thus conforming to a resolution of the New York Ministerium passed in September, 1796, that "we adopt the Agenda of the Pennsylvania Ministerium and arrange our services according to the same."[40] There are a few differences in wording compared with the translation in Kunze's hymnal, but these are of a minor nature. Williston's collection also contains the Gospel and Epistle lessons for the church year. A few years after publishing this hymnal, Williston followed Strebeck's example and defected to the Episcopal church.

The 1814 New York Hymnal

Like the publications of both Kunze and Strebeck, Williston's hymnal failed to find general acceptance among the New York congregations.

[40] Ibid., p. 35.

Only five years after its publication, the minutes of the New York Ministerium for the meeting in September, 1811, contain the following item: "Resolved, that a new Hymnbook & Liturgy in the English language be introduced in the Lutheran churches of this State & others belonging to this Ministerium, & that the Rvd. Presidt., F.W. Geissenheimer & Ph. F. Mayer be a Committee to collect it & cause it to be printed." The same meeting also resolved "that a new Hymnbook & Liturgy in the German language be prepared, & that the Rvd. Presidt., Secretary & Aug. Wackerhagen be a Committee for that purpose."[41] At this time F. H. Quitman was president, and F. W. Geissenhainer secretary of the Ministerium.

Two years later at the meeting of the Ministerium in September, 1813, the pastors and delegates resolved "that the Committee appointed at the Meeting of the Ministerium in the Town of Wurtemberg 1811, for the collection & composition of a new Hymnbook & Liturgy in the English language remain the same."[42] At this same time the Ministerium also resolved that the Senior write a preface to the new hymnal recommending it to congregations comprising the New York Ministerium, and that each minister determine how many his respective congregation(s) would desire. This hymnal was completed in 1814, when it appeared under the title: A Collection of Hymns and a Liturgy for the Use of Evangelical Lutheran Churches.[43] At their annual meeting in 1815, the New York Ministerium

[41] Ibid., p. 54.

[42] Ibid., p. 56.

[43] (Philadelphia: G. & D. Billmeyer, 1814). The liturgy was also published separately as A Liturgy for the Use of Evangelical Lutheran Churches (Philadelphia: G. & D. Billmeyer, 1814).

officially accepted the report of the committee charged with editing and publishing the hymnal. Unlike its predecessors, this collection received wide acceptance in English-language churches. Later editions appeared in 1817, 1824, and 1827. In 1834 a new edition had a special supplement, while the editions of 1842 and 1850 incorporated the supplement into the body of the hymnal itself.[44]

From a liturgical aspect this hymnal marks one of the low points in Lutheran church music in America. Whereas the previous English-language New York hymnals represent a successive departure from Lutheran hymnody towards the practices of less liturgical, English-speaking churches, the 1814 hymnal shows a total capitulation to Methodist, Presbyterian, and "low church" Episcopalian influences. The hymns no longer follow the liturgical year, but are grouped solely by general headings like "Praise and Thanksgiving," "Example of Christ," "Faith," etc. There is no tune index; only the symbols for long, short, common, and peculiar meter appear.

The liturgy in the back of the hymnal has but a shadow of resemblance to either the old or the modern Lutheran practices. The preface, which is signed by Dr. Frederick H. Quitman and Augustus Wackerhagen, states that the forms of the liturgy are left entirely to the discretion of individual congregations and ministers. Instead of following a uniform pattern, public

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[44]Carlton York Smith, "Early Lutheran Hymnody in America from the Colonial Period to the Year 1850" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Dept. of Music, University of Southern California, 1956), p. 87.

worship was little more than an optional mixture of hymns, prayers, and scripture readings centered around the sermon. Only certain parts of the communion service maintained their conventional form, largely for doctrinal reasons. Hymn singing played a prominent role in the various services, but the hymns were not integrated into the order of worship in the way that was true of the 1786 Pennsylvania liturgy.

A good example of the almost non-denominational character of this hymnal occurs in the fact that Jacob Eckhard, organist of St. Michael's Episcopal Church in Charleston, South Carolina, published a chorale book designed for general use with any hymnal in the English language, but with special attention to the 1814 New York hymnbook. This chorale book was strictly a private venture and was not sponsored by the New York Ministerium. The full title to Eckhard's book reads:

> Choral-Book, Containing Psalms, Hymns, Anthems and Chants, Used in the Episcopal Churches of Charleston, South-Carolina; and a Collection of Tunes, Adapted to the Metres in the Hymn-Book, Published by Order of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of the State of New-York. The Whole a Selection for the Service of All Protestant Churches in America.[45]

Eckhard's preface gives further testimony to the general purposes of the collection. It was naturally to his advantage for the book to have as wide a sale as possible, so he designed it to serve the needs of most English-language churches rather than just one denomination. Two paragraphs from the preface will clearly show these aims:

> The Publisher, having for seven years been employed as an Organist in the Reformed Churches in Germany, and

[45] (Boston: James Loring, 1816).

> for nearly forty years in Lutheran and Episcopal Churches in this country, thinks he has had an opportunity to judge of the advantages which might arise from a CHORAL BOOK, with appropriate figured basses, and the harmony fully expressed by notes, for those unacquainted with figuration.
>
> Under an impression that this work will be of service not only to the English Lutheran, but also to all the Protestant Churches in America, he has selected many sacred melodies for the particular metres of their several hymn books. The long, common and short metres are a selection of choice tunes, suitable for all congregations.

Eckhard's tunebook contains seventy-seven hymns plus a "Venite exultemus," "Benedic anima mea," "Gloria in excelsis," and a "Chant for Easter Day." These last four items are all set in the style of Anglican chant. Most of the hymns lack text, but those with text are in English. Although there are many German Lutheran hymn tunes, the collection clearly shows its Anglican orientation. The final page contains an index of sixty-six hymns found in the 1814 New York hymnal which may be sung to melodies in this book.

The music is written in piano score with figured bass, but the harmonies are all fully realized. Generally the right hand plays full, triadic harmonies while the left provides the bass (probably in octaves). Often there is a gap greater than an octave between the lowest right hand part and the bass, rather than having well-spaced, four-part harmony. This realization of the bass provides an interesting example of how late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century organists realized hymn tunes. The realization is generally very chordal; the rhythms tend to be very regular and to move in block chords with only occasional passing notes to relieve the uniformity. For those players who might wish to make their own realizations, the customary figures appear beneath the bass line.

Since the New York Ministerium did not issue an official tunebook or give specific references to the tunes for the hymns in the 1814 hymnal, there was inevitably a great lack of uniformity in the musical practices of churches using this hymnal. Some organists probably used Eckhard's collection; others may have used the tunebook which Zion Church in Philadelphia published in 1813 to accompany the German-language Pennsylvania hymnal. Probably most organists had three or four different tunebooks from which to select music. At any rate, the music which was used with the 1814 hymnal was probably not of a distinctively Lutheran character, but was the common property of most Protestant denominations. It thus marks the end of a movement which started with the 1756 reprint of the Psalmodia Germanica -- a gradual shift from a strictly Lutheran outlook to the broad musical viewpoint of early nineteenth-century Protestantism in general. So long as the German language remained dominant, the churches preserved their European heritage, but with the decline of the German tongue they seemed unable to hold English worship without absorbing the customs and practices of the English denominations. It was only with the liturgical revival of the later nineteenth century combined with the effect of new waves of immigration from Europe that the Lutheran churches in North America were able to free themselves from non-Lutheran influences and begin a gradual return to traditional Lutheran hymnody and liturgy.

The Gemeinschaftliche Gesangbuch

Even the German hymnals and services did not escape the deterioration

that so noticeably affected English-language Lutheranism. The church records of the New York congregation[46] for November 21, 1818, state that effective the first Sunday in 1819 the congregation would begin using Das gemeinschaftliche Gesangbuch for German public worship. Members were to purchase their own copies, and those unable to do so would receive a free copy provided from the church funds. The full title of this hymnal is:

> Das gemeinschaftliche Gesangbuch zum gottesdienstlichen Gebrauch der Lutherischen und Reformirten Gemeinden in Nord-America ("The Common Hymnbook for Use in Worship of the Lutheran and Reformed Congregations in North America").[47]

As its name indicates, this was a union hymnal for both Lutheran and Reformed churches.

Das gemeinschaftliche Gesangbuch was Schaeffer and Maund's most successful publication. It had two printings in 1817, and two more in 1818.[48] Further editions appeared in 1827, 1828, 1832, 1836, 1843, and 1850. The publishers gave the first edition added fanfare by printing a special pre-publication broadside to advertise the forthcoming hymnal. The title of this broadside reads:

> Baltimore, den 22sten Januar 1816. Wohlerwürdiger Herr Pastor. Euer Wohlerwürden nehme ich mir die Freiheit über

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[46]The records of the New York congregation (St. Matthew's) have been photographed by the Concordia Historical Institute of St. Louis, microfilms number 149-153 in the Institute's library. They include the "Rechnungs-Protocoll" (1767-1803) of income and expenditures, the "Protocoll des Kirchen Raths" or the vestry minutes, and the English-language minutes of the trustees and joint meetings of the church officials. All references to the church records are based upon these microfilm copies.

[47](Baltimore: Schäffer und Maund, 1817).

[48]Felix Reichmann, "German Printing in Maryland, a Check List, 1768-1950," Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland, XXVII (1950), 37-38.

> eine Gegenstand zu schreiben, welcher für die deutschen Kirchen in diesem Lande von grosser Wichtigkeit ist. ("Baltimore, the 22d of January, 1816. Most Reverend Pastor. I Am Taking upon Myself the Freedom to Write Your Reverence about Something Which Is of Great Importance for the German Churches in This Country").[49]

This matter of great importance was, of course, the forthcoming hymnal. The prospectus was endorsed by Dr. Becker for the Reformed and Dr. Quitman for the Lutherans. The actual hymnal itself contains endorsements by a committee from the Ministerium of Pennsylvania consisting of F. W. Geissenhainer, J. Georg Schmucker, Christian Endress, Johann Knoske, and Johann P. Hecht; August Wackerhagen, C. L. Becker, and F. H. Quitman endorsed it for the New York Ministerium; Gottlieb Schober for the North Carolina Synod; and Friedrich D. Schaeffer (Philadelphia) and Daniel Kurtz (Baltimore), apparently as individual pastors. Against this formidable array of endorsements by Lutheran ministers one finds only a single paragraph of support from a meeting of the Reformed Church held in York, September, 1817. The New York Ministerium gave its official blessing to this hymnal at the meeting held in September, 1816, in Sandlake. This meeting resolved that "Mr. F. G. Shafer, printer at Baltimore, be encouraged by this Synod to print the new Hymnbook in the German language, a prospectus of which had been received by the Synod. . . & that they will use their endeavours to introduce it into their respective German Congregations."[50]

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[49] Ibid., pp. 12 and 37.

[50] "Transcript of the Manuscript Protocol . . .," p. 63.

In addition to the various endorsements, the preface to the hymnbook mentions that the texts are selected so as to agree with the Choral-Buch published in 1813 to accompany the Erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung. There are 494 hymns on 344 pages; each hymn designates the melody if it does not have its own tune, and sometimes the author of the text is given. The arrangement does not follow the church year, but instead groups the hymns by topics. While this shows a definite decline in liturgical outlook, the front of the hymnal does contain a guide to the proper Gospel and Epistle lessons for Sundays and feast days, immediately after the table of contents. An alphabetical guide to the hymns and a few morning and evening prayers fill out the concluding pages in the hymnbook. It is interesting to observe that two hymns are listed under the topic, "For the Dedication of an Organ," thus indicating that a demand for such special hymns must have existed. Next to the Erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung, Das gemeinschaftliche Gesangbuch was the most popular hymnal used in German-language Lutheran churches in America during the first part of the nineteenth century. It was not restricted to any one synod, but had wide distribution throughout the entire United States.

Accounts Referring to Music, the Organ, and Organists in the New York Congregation

An examination of hymnals and liturgies can present only one side of church musical life. Music also requires singers and instruments to effect the performances which the hymnals and liturgies indicate. While the records of music in the New York congregation are less extensive than

for churches in southeastern Pennsylvania, one nonetheless finds many interesting references to music, organs, and organists.

Since the New York City church was the largest and most important of the New York churches, it quite naturally led the most active musical life. Very little is known of the first organ in this congregation, however. When Christ and Trinity churches[51] united to form one corporation in 1784, no organ is mentioned in the property belonging to Trinity Church, but an organ does appear in the "Estate and Effects" of Christ Church.[52] This is undoubtedly the same instrument mentioned in the church's "Rechnungs-Protocoll" for April 9 and July 27 of 1784. The entry for April reads: "An den Orgel macher bezahlt £5" ("Paid to the organ builder, £5"), while that for July is: "Für die Orgel zu Repariron, lauth Rechnung-- £20" ("For repairing the organ, according to the bill-- £20"). Since the organ was needing various repairs in 1784, one can assume that it was placed in the church some years earlier.

The church records contain a few tantalizingly brief references to musical matters which clearly show that special musical performances

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[51] The New York congregation has a rather complicated history of name changes and schisms. Founded in 1649 by the Dutch Lutherans, its name became Trinity Church in 1729. In 1749 a schism resulted in the founding of Christ Church, but in 1784 the two congregations were re-united as the United German Lutheran Churches, with Kunze as pastor. In 1822 Christ Church became the German congregation, while the new St. Matthew's Church served for English worship. The Christ Church building was sold nine years later, and St. Matthew's, which still exists, became the sole surviving heir to the old New York congregation.

[52] Church records for November 17, 1784.

occurred in the church, but give absolutely no indication as to the nature of these performances. A meeting of the trustees on April 26, 1786, ordered "that the thanks of this Board be given to the Gentlemen who performed Church music on Easter Sunday in our church." The gentlemen are not named, but on June 15 the chairman of the trustees reported that he had written a note to the men concerned. Since Kunze was pastor of the New York congregation at this time, it seems likely that he promoted special programs of music patterned after those in Philadelphia, where he had served for several years before coming to New York.

On June 6, 1788, the New York Journal gave notice of a concert of "Divine Music" for the afternoon of the eleventh in the German church in Nassau Street,[53] while the Daily Advertiser of June 13, 1789, announced that the Musical Society "with the assistance of a Band of Instrumental Musicians" would perform at the Lutheran Church, "corner of Franklin and William streets," overtures, psalms, anthems, the oratorio Jonah by Felst,[54] a violin concerto, etc. on the evening of June 18.[55] These performances apparently took the form of sacred concerts rather than music within the actual service. Their importance lies in the fact that they demonstrate a close contact between New York musical life and the Lutheran church.

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[53]Cited by George C. D. Odell, Annals of the New York Stage (New York: Columbia University Press, 1927), I, 270.

[54]Samuel Felsted was an eighteenth-century English musician whose major claim to fame is his oratorio, Jonah, published in London in 1775.

[55]Odell, I, 283.

Sonneck gives additional information concerning the first of these concerts, held in the German Reformed church in Nassau Street, as reported in the Daily Advertiser for June 6, 1788.[56] The concert was a benefit for the German Reformed church in Albany, and Dr. Kunze was in charge of managing the program, which comprised:

1. A grand overture by Martini.
2. Anthem from the 34th Psalm.
3. Jonah, an oratorio, composed by S. Felsted.
4. An unidentified sinfonia.
5. Anthem from sundry scriptural passages.
6. Sinfonia finale.

The fact that Kunze managed the program shows the close relationship which the New York Lutherans had with the Reformed church.

As was customary, the local schoolmaster was in charge of music for most of the actual services. The vestry minutes of the New York congregation for August 22, 1787, show that in addition to his teaching duties, the schoolmaster had to serve as organist, sing at funerals, serve as precentor in the church services, and because he lived close to the church property he also had to look after the church building. At least he was not required to pump the bellows for his own organ playing (probably because it would have been impossible), since an entry in the trustees' minutes for May 13, 1788, says that Jacob Asher should receive four pounds a year

[56] O. G. Sonneck, Early Concert Life in America (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1907), pp. 225-226.

for his services as grave digger and bellows blower for the organ.

On July 22, 1800, the trustees and vestry adopted a new school ordinance which stated that "the compensation of the Schoolmaster and Organist for playing the Organ and Singing in the Church be from henceforth 75. Dollars per annum." The schoolmaster-organist, Mr. Leuthauser, apparently considered this a rather paltry salary, and he threatened to resign unless he received an increase. Thus, on March 27, 1801, the trustees "acquiesed with reluctance" to an annual increase in his salary of $50 per year, making his new salary $125.

Installation of a new organ provided a major musical event for the New York City Lutherans around the turn of the century. This organ was constructed by John Geib, a German piano maker, who arrived in New York in 1797. Geib built his first organ in America for Christ Lutheran Church. In Greenleaf's New Daily Advertiser for December 27, 1798, Geib announced construction of the organ, which was to contain eight hundred pipes. A later issue of the same paper on January 8, 1799, announced the dedication. This last advertisement reads in part:

> John Geib, Most respectfully informs the amateurs of music, that next Friday, the 4th inst. the Organ built for the Lutheran Church, in William and corner of Frankfort street, will be exhibited to view, from 12 o'clock in the afternoon till 3; and then two eminent men, MR. RAUSCH, and Mr. [sic] MOLLER, will perform for the time; when also a few anthems will be sung by eminent singers.[57]

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[57] Cited by F. R. Webber, "St. Matthew's Had an 'Opdiapasson,' Possibly a 'Vaschumana,'" Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly, XXXI (January, 1959), 97-103. Facsimiles of the two advertisements appear on pp. 100 and 101. There seems to be some discrepancy in the date of either the second announcement or of the dedication, since it seems unlikely that a newspaper of January 8 would announce a dedication on "next Friday, the 4th inst." However, Rita S. Gotteswein, The Arts and Crafts

Tickets for the program cost one dollar. Rausch was organist at Grace Episcopal Church in New York City, while Moller was organist at Trinity Episcopal Church. Moller was John Christopher Moller, an important figure in early American concert life whom we shall meet in much greater detail in chapters iv and v.

Miss Joyce E. Mangler of Brown University has discovered some personal letters of John Geib which give the specifications of this organ. Following Geib's rather novel spellings as cited in Webber's article, they are:

1. Opdiapasson throughaute from treble GG, to F in alt --
2. Stopdiapason do -- do -- do
3. Principal --do -- do -- do
4. 12th do &c
5. 15th do &c
6. Tiers do &c
7. Cornet. treble
8. Sesq. Bass 3 rankes

Swell from Fidle G

1. opd or Dulciana
2. Stopd
3. Principal
4. Hautbois

Two pair of bellowes, an ellegant best mahogany case, gild front and ornaments -- $9\frac{1}{2}$ by 15 feet. Duble && in front, and a set of keys in great organ, and one set from fidle G in Swell -- a trimland -- the cost 1000 in this place.[58]

Possibly Geib later added a "flute throughaute" and a "vaschumana," since another of his letters indicates that he intended to do so.

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in New York: 1777-1799 ("Collections of the New-York Historical Society," Vol. LXXXI; New York: By the society, 1954), pp. 362-363 gives excerpts from the two Geib advertisements whose dates agree with those given by Webber.

[58]Webber, Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly, XXXI, 101.

The congregation raised the money for constructing this organ by means of a subscription. After the minutes of the trustees' meeting for March 11, 1802, the church records give a list of the subscribers. An introductory comment says that since no other record of contributions for the organ exists in the church journals, the roll of subscribers is now given in order to remedy this situation. The following inscription heads the list of names:

> At a Conference of the Board of Trustees and Vestry of the German Lutheran Congregation held at their Vestry Room, Newyork, the 22d of September, 1797.
>
> Resolved and appointed a Committee to consult and agree with Mr. John Geib, Organbuilder, late from London, for the building a new organ in Christ Church, and that a Committee of this Conference, wait on the Members of this Congregation voluntary to Subscribe each to their names such Sum as they will give, when the organ is building. Therefore We the Subscribers promise to pay for each of us the Sum subscribed to our name, when called on by the Committee of the Board of Trustees.

Then follow 226 names and the amounts in both sterling and dollars which each person subscribed. The total amount was £477.19 and 1/6, or $1194.90 -- certainly a fairly sizeable sum back in 1797. This amount agrees with the remark in Geib's letter quoted above that the cost was "1000 in this place."

Geib's organ obviously met with the approval of the church officials, for an entry in the vestry minutes for February 11, 1799, states that they were so pleased with the new instrument that they wished to present the builder a substantial gift in addition to the amount stipulated in the contract. This is confirmed in the minutes of the trustees for April 5, 1799: "Resolved that a further sum of One hundred and fifty Dollars be given as

a Present to Mr. Geib the Organ Builder as a Mark of our Satisfaction and Approbation of said Organ."

Since the congregation now had a new organ, it seemed only logical to sell their old instrument. At a meeting of the trustees on December 9, 1800, John Habermehl was "hereby authorized to sell the old Organ." Apparently nothing came from this authorization, for at a trustees' meeting on April 16, 1808, Mr. Lang was appointed "to sell the Old Organ according to Order for thirty dollars . . ." Judging from the small sum received from sale of the old organ, it obviously could not have been a very imposing instrument.

Geib remained in charge of maintaining the organ for many years after he had originally constructed it. On March 10, 1809, he presented a bill for $120 for keeping the organ in order. The trustees thought that this seemed rather expensive, so they appointed a committee to investigate the matter. On June 5, 1809, they voted to pay Geib $40 for his attention to the organ up until January 1, 1808, and a sum of $12 per year for keeping it in tune thereafter. On October 2, 1809, Geib presented the trustees with a bill of $52 for tuning the organ, perhaps in accordance with the resolution of June 5, since it would have come to this amount.

Mr. Leuthauser was still organist-schoolmaster in 1810, so his threats of resignation mentioned above had never materialized. He remained organist until May 5, 1815, when the trustees accepted his resignation because of his advancing age. (He had already resigned his position as schoolmaster some time before.) At a joint meeting of the

trustees, elders, and deacons on June 14, 1815, a committee was appointed to see on what terms a Mr. Brash would be willing to serve as organist. A week later the church officers resolved to offer Brash a salary of $250 a year, and also to have the organ properly repaired and tuned. In addition, on June 29, 1815, the church officers decided to purchase six hymnbooks in the English language for the deacons to hand to visitors for their use during the service. A similar resolution for six additional hymnals passed on September 23, 1815. These resolutions were necessary because the regular members of the congregation owned their own hymnbooks and brought them to church with them. Consequently, unless the church owned special books for non-members, visitors would either have to do without a hymnbook or else borrow one from a member.

Brash experienced some sort of trouble with Geib, and under the date of December 22, 1815, the minutes[59] mention that Geib refused either to repair and tune the organ or to give the keys to Brash. This same meeting also voted to pay Brash $5 for purchasing a "Note Book" of sacred music, evidently some sort of tunebook. Finally ~~on~~ January 27, 1816, the minutes report that Geib had given Brash the keys to the organ, but he declined to service the instrument because he was so busy with other activities.

On February 20, 1816, the church officers voted to hold divine service in English on Wednesday evenings, after which "the different

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[59] After 1814, references to the minutes are to the joint meetings of the church officers, since the trustees and the vestry apparently no longer kept separate minutes.

Anthems in our Hymnbook will be exercised accompanied by the Organ." This seems to be a reference to a weekly meeting for congregational singing that is distinct from both regular choir rehearsals or a singing school. One must observe that a singing school and a choir involve different activities, though personnel might well overlap. While they had the blessings of the churches, singing schools were conducted either by the local or visiting schoolmasters in return for a set fee from each individual who attended. At the conclusion of a series of lessons, it was customary for the singing school to present a public program, often in the church. The choir, on the other hand, was a volunteer group much like present church choirs. Their duty was to lead the congregational singing and also to present special music within the services. Choirs were a regular part of Lutheran worship in America from relatively early times, although smaller and more poorly organized congregations often had to rely upon the services of a precentor in lieu of a choir.

The church records for March 6, 1816, state that Mr. Brash planned to leave the city, and Mr. F. W. Dannenberg would be organist in his place. Dannenberg's duties included playing the organ "twice very Sunday & every Festival day & also one evening in every week and to take Charge of the Singing Choir." The same meeting also granted Mr. Bowman, the schoolmaster, the privilege of forming a singing school with the use of the school room. These items in the church minutes clearly confirm the distinction between the regular choir and the singing school, as mentioned above. Less clear is the position of the precentor, for the

minutes dated August 15, 1816, say that the duties of the sexton include being "leader of the Singing & before & after singing to keep order in the church. . ." This would seem to indicate that although the organist had charge of the choir, he did not lead the singing. If true, one can imagine that many colorful moments occurred when the sexton and the organist had a differing of minds during the course of a service!

After Dannenberg became organist (he remained until his death in 1818), the church records indicate that Geib was still either too busy or otherwise unwilling to service the organ. Finally the minutes for January 29, 1817, indicate that a committee was appointed to call upon Peter Erben to see if he would accept the job. Erben was willing to do the work, and the records for April 2, 1817, state that the church was to pay him $30 a year for his efforts. However, on April 25 of the same month, the trustees voted to pay Erben $47.62½ for repairing and tuning the organ, so perhaps it had needed more attention than they had originally planned.

Special Musical Events, Including the 1817 Jubilee

Since the Lutherans had one of the best organs in New York, some of the local musical societies used the church for musical performances that required an organ. The church minutes for April 16, 1818, granted the Handel and Haydn Society permission to rehearse in the large school room one night a week, and to have the church one night a month in return for providing special music on desired occasions. One such occasion had occurred the preceding year when the Handel and Haydn Society assisted in the tercentenary celebration of the Reformation (cf. below). Another

occurred on the first Thursday of November, 1818, which the Governor of New York had proclaimed as a day of thanksgiving. Regarding this latter performance, the minutes of October 31 indicate that in addition to the regular thanksgiving services, the Handel and Haydn Society was to present a special musical program in the evening, for which tickets were fifty cents and the proceeds were to go to the Evangelical Lutheran Sunday School Society.

Besides the Handel and Haydn Society, one reads under the date of July 16, 1818, that the congregational officers granted a request from the "American Conservatorio" to use the church and the organ for presenting an oratorio about two months from that date. References of this type show that the Lutheran church played an active role in furthering concerts of sacred music, thus providing an important contribution to the growth and development of early nineteenth-century musical life in what was to become the nation's largest city.

The most ambitious musical performance within an actual service during the early years of the nineteenth century was the grand jubilee celebrating the three-hundredth anniversary of the Reformation. Thanks to the fact that the congregation published a booklet giving a detailed outline of the festivities, along with the sermon preached by the Rev. Frederick C. Schaeffer, it is possible to obtain a fairly good picture of the music at this service.[60] In addition to the commemorative booklet, the congregation also printed a pamphlet containing the order of worship for distribution to the congregation. This probably was the pamphlet mentioned in the church

[60] A transcript of the musical texts for the entire service is in Appendix B.

minutes for August 8, 1818, which note the payment of $25 to Schaeffer and Maund for printing five hundred pamphlets for the jubilee.[61] The title to the commemorative booklet reads:

> A Sermon Preached in St. Paul's Church in the City of New-York on the 31st of October, 1817, on Occasion of the Solemnization of the Third Centurial Jubilee in Commemoration of the Reformation Commenced by Dr. Martin Luther on the 31st of October, 1517: Accompanied with an Account of the Solemnities and the Order of Divine Service.[62]

Actually the festivities embraced two services--morning worship in German in the Lutheran church and an afternoon service in English in St. Paul's Episcopal Church, a larger building which could better accommodate the crowd. Peter Erben (mentioned above in connection with repairing and tuning the organ) supervised the music for the German service, while P. S. Taylor directed the Handel and Haydn Society for the English worship. Admission to both services was by special ticket, and the order of solemnities was nearly the same in both languages. The entire ceremony lasted more than three hours, and various other New York pastors assisted Schaeffer in conducting the service. Preceding the outline of the order of worship in the booklet, Schaeffer has written:

> My thanks I present also to Messrs. Erben and Taylor, to the gentlemen that constituted the Orchestra, and to all the ladies and gentlemen who in both churches assisted in the attractive and excellent musical performances.
>
> They who on this occasion displayed such skill and proficiency in a most pleasing science; and who proved that musical talents are in a state of high cultivation in this city, enjoy the gratifying reflection that they

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[61] The author has not been able to locate any copies of this pamphlet printed by Schaeffer and Maund.

[62] (New York: Kirk & Mercein, 1817).

> contributed to the devotion of thousands--and, that if salutary impressions have been made; if good effects are the result of the Solemnization of the Third Centurial Jubilee in the city of New-York; if the GLORY of GOD has been promoted; they have been pleasingly instrumental, under God, in ensuing such a result.[63]

While the text of the service as given in Appendix B is virtually self-explanatory, a few supplementary observations are nonetheless necessary. As was true of most published accounts of services at this time, there is very little information concerning the actual music. In this particular case, however, it is possible to deduce some of the music that was used. We know that an orchestra was present, and we know that the Handel and Haydn Society served as the chorus. One would thus suspect that music by one or the other of these composers was used, and an examination of the texts proves this to have been the case. Several numbers by the choir are obviously from the Messiah. Immediately after the congregation finished singing three verses of "Preserve us steadfast in thy word," which is a translation of Luther's "Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort," the choir sang "How beautiful are the feet of him" followed by the chorus, "Break forth into joy"--both from the Messiah. Persons familiar with the text of the Messiah will recognize that this text was an optional version that has had wide use, though it differs from the more generally accepted reading, "How beautiful are the feet of them." Then follow two of Handel's most famous choruses, "Worthy is the Lamb" and the inevitable, but appropriate "Hallelujah" chorus, which concluded the

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[63] Ibid., p. 42.

service except for the Benediction. Another excerpt from the Messiah occurred during the service just before the reading of the 40th Psalm. This consisted of the recitative, "For behold darkness shall cover the earth," and the chorus, "And the glory of the Lord." While not from the Messiah, the choral "Jubilate" (Psalm 100) which opened the service may also have been by Handel. The text is similar to that used in the Utrecht "Te Deum" and "Jubilate," or it might have been the "O be joyful in the Lord" from the Chandos Anthems.

Turning to other music in the service, it is virtually impossible to assign any tune to the opening verse sung by the congregation. It is in long meter and could have been sung to any of dozens of melodies. The second hymn, beginning "The Lord is nigh, and ne'er forsakes," is somewhat easier to pin down. It derives from "Sei Lob und Ehr dem höchsten Gut," which has the same meter and could use the same tune as "Allein Gott in der Höh" or "Es ist das Heil uns kommen hier." The manner in which the choir sings the first two lines alone, while the congregation joins in for the last five is typical of alternation practices in American Lutheran singing at the time. Also typical is the way in which the three verses from this hymn are not sung in succession, but are separated by statements read by the minister. In order to provide a climax, the entire third and final verse is sung tutti, rather than having the choir do the first two lines alone. The second hymn, "Before Jehovah's awful Throne," is still found in many modern hymnals. It was originally a paraphrase of Psalm 100, written by Isaac Watts and beginning, "Sing to the Lord with joyful voice." John

Wesley wrote the version in which we find it here. The sermon hymn, "As breaks through veiling clouds the sun," has thus far eluded identification. It is likewise impossible to hypothesize concerning the music for the anthem, whose text contains many familiar phrases which are the common property of all types of sacred music.

A service such as this, which combines soloists, orchestra, chorus, organ, and congregation in various ways, would still be impressive to musical ears today, let alone in New York of 1817. The church minutes for November 6, 1817, contain a formal note of thanks to all the persons involved in the musical performance:

> Resolved that the thanks of this Board be presented to Messrs. P. Erben and L. P. Taylor for their zealous exertions in conducting the musical performances on the 3d centurial Jubilee of the Reformation, the former for the forenoon & the latter for the afternoon services and also to the Ladies & Gentlemen who assisted them voluntary on that important occasion.

Four years later, in 1821, the Lutherans in New York City again had occasion to publish a festival service, though on a smaller scale, in connection with the cornerstone ceremonies for a new church.[64] This new house of worship, named St. Matthew's, was built for English-language services, while the old Christ Church remained for German services. The ceremonies began with an opening sentence and prayer; then the congregation sang two verses of hymn number six,[65] "From

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[64] Frederick C. Schaeffer, An Address Pronounced at the Laying of the Corner Stone of St. Matthew's Church, New York, October 22, 1821; with the Ceremonial on the Occasion (New York: E. Conrad, 1821).

[65] The numbers of the hymns in this service correspond with those in the 1814 English hymnal published by the New York Ministerium.

all that dwell below the skies." Following the reading of Psalm 121, Pastor Schaeffer delivered the address. He closed his discourse with the words: "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts, Heaven and Earth are full of thy Glory! Hallelujah! Amen!" to which the choir and congregation responded by "chaunting":

> Holy, Holy, Holy Lord God of Hosts;
> Heaven and Earth are full of the Glory;
> Hallelujah -- Hallelujah -- Hallelujah -- Hallelujah!
> Amen -- Amen!

Thereafter the pastor read a statement and proceeded with the laying of the cornerstone. A copy of the hymnbook and liturgy[66] was included among the items placed in the cornerstone. After receiving the offering, the building immediately progressed, and the choir and congregation joined to sing hymn 297, "Lord, dost thou show a corner stone." A final prayer and the Benediction brought the service to a close.

It is only natural that one should wonder as to the quality of the singing and the playing in these various musical performances. Unfortunately there is no way to prove that the music was or was not of high quality. One must remember, however, that many of the pastors and musicians received their training in Europe, and they inevitably brought European ideas and evaluations concerning music when they came to this country. It seems likely, therefore, that as far as music was concerned in cities like New York and Philadelphia, the technical quality was equal to that presented under similar circumstances in the Old World. Moreover, some of the

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[66] Undoubtedly the 1814 A Collection of Hymns and a Liturgy.

professional musicians who were also organists had performing experience on both sides of the Atlantic, and there is no reason to believe that they left their talents behind when they came west.

Sometimes European travelers would comment upon the state of music when they came to this country. On October 2, 1825, Duke Bernhard of Saxony-Weimar-Eisenach attended services in Christ Lutheran Church, New York. He writes that he was pleased with the good organ and the good playing of the organist, even though the church itself was old and not in any way elegant. Bernhard entered the church while the congregation was singing a hymn by Duke William of Saxony-Weimar. As Bernhard puts it, his ancestor surely would never have thought that the "most unworthy of his successors" would first learn of his having written a sacred hymn while he, Bernhard, was visiting in New York![67]

Bernhard's comments take us to the chronological limits established for this study. In some respects these limits might have been set as early as the 1814 English hymnal published by the New York Ministerium, since this hymnal represented a significant change in the direction of American Lutheranism--a change that pointed towards greater liberalism in theology combined with laxness and a wide range of options in church music and the order of worship. Because the New York Ministerium made wider use of English than was true of their brethren in Pennsylvania, the New York churches were more subject to the influence of Presbyterian, Methodist, and

[67]Heinrich Lüden (ed.), Reise Sr. Hoheit des Herzogs Bernhard zu Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach durch Nord-Amerika in den Jahren 1825 und 1826 (Weimar: Wilhelm Hoffmann, 1828), I, 209.

Episcopal sources. It took many years of painful progress--marked by many years of membership losses, especially to the Episcopal church--before American Lutheranism established itself as an English-language denomination distinct from other Protestant groups. While the transition from German to English services was inevitable, those areas where German persisted as an everyday language had the strongest Lutheran congregations. So long as services were in German, it was a relatively easy matter to copy the customs and procedures of the mother country, but when English first came into use, no models existed as far as the Lutherans were concerned. Being used to state control, neither the pastors nor the congregations were accustomed to meeting organizational problems on their own. Consequently, instead of evolving a distinct English-language service based upon German models, they turned to the English denominations for ideas.

In southeastern Pennsylvania, where German-speaking residents often formed a majority of the population, we find the true stronghold of early American Lutheranism. The sheer numbers of German inhabitants in this area would tend to make the Lutherans strong, but the unifying influence of the German language, which set the people apart from the other citizens, screened out non-Lutheran influences and aided even more in building large and influential congregations. With these thoughts in mind, perhaps one can better understand the primacy of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania in the early history of American Lutheranism and, consequently, in the first full flowering of Lutheran church music in America.

CHAPTER III

LUTHERAN MUSIC IN PENNSYLVANIA: THE MUHLENBERG ERA

Conditions before Muhlenberg's Arrival

William Penn's visits to Germany in 1671 and 1677 instigated the first sizeable German immigration to Pennsylvania, with the consequent founding of Germantown around 1685. At first Lutherans were in a minority of the immigrants, who consisted primarily of sects and splinter groups which sought to establish religious colonies of their own. It was not until the middle of the eighteenth century that the Lutherans came in such numbers and had sufficient organization as to dominate the Pennsylvania religious scene. The first German Lutherans to arrive as a group in the Philadelphia area consisted of a party of about forty persons who settled in Germantown and held their first services on June 24, 1694.[1] During the early years of the eighteenth century the constant wars in the Palatinate, which led to the German immigration to New York, also increased the rate of immigration into Pennsylvania. Unfortunately, the supply of pastors did not keep pace with the number of immigrants, and while the Swedish ministers made valiant efforts to serve the ever increasing thousands of Germans, their capabilities were woefully inadequate. The history of German Lutheranism in Pennsylvania before 1740, therefore, is primarily a tale of shepherdless

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[1] This background information on the first German Lutherans in Pennsylvania derives mainly from the books by Schmauk and Jacobs, cited above, and Albert B. Faust, The German Element in the United States (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909), I.

flocks preyed upon by vagabond wolves in pastors' clothing who only added to the troubles of the church. Under such circumstances good church music could hardly be expected to flourish, let alone exist.

A letter from Daniel Falckner of Germantown (the brother of Justus Falckner) to Rev. August Herman Francke, Halle, dated April 16, 1702, describes the poor condition in which the Germantown congregation found itself at that time.[2] Since the Germantown Lutherans were among the best organized Lutheran congregations, one can imagine the situations that existed in some of the other churches. Falckner wrote that among other things they needed a selected supply of good books for congregational use, including a little provision for music, since it was entirely lacking.

With the passage of time a few of the larger German Lutheran churches must have been able to make provisions for music, however, since a few references to organs do exist in the period before 1750. Records indicate that Holy Trinity Church, Lancaster, had a small pipe organ in 1744,[3] and William Black mentions in his diary for June 1, 1744, that Germantown "has a very Good Church with Organs."[4] Although Black does

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[2] "A Contribution to Pennsylvania History: Missives to Rev. August Herman Francke from Daniel Falckner, Germantown, April 16, 1702 and Justus Falckner, New York, 1704," trans. Julius F. Sachse, The Pennsylvania German Society (Lancaster: By the society, 1909), XVIII.

[3] J. E. Whitteker, A Memorial of the One Hundred and Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of Trinity Lutheran Church, Lancaster, Pennsylvania (Lancaster: Wickersham Printing Co., 1905), p. 6.

[4] R. Alonzo Brock (ed.), "Journal of William Black," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, I (October, 1877), 408. Also a personal letter from Arthur K. Leberknight of Germantown, January 29, 1960.

not specify which German church he means, in all probability he was referring to the Lutherans, since the church records indicate that the congregation purchased an organ from Dr. Witt of Germantown about 1741. Two young men who assisted the Swede, Hesselius, in building organs at this time were John G. Klemm and David Tannenberg. Both later built organs on their own, and we shall meet several important examples of Tannenberg's work below.

The Early Years of Muhlenberg's Ministry

Lutheranism in Pennsylvania entered a new era with the arrival of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg in Philadelphia on Thursday, November 25, 1742. Muhlenberg came to America in response to an appeal which three pastorless congregations--New Hanover (Falckner Swamp), Providence (Trappe), and Philadelphia--had made to the church fathers in Halle. At that time Halle was not only the seat of one of Germany's leading universities, but was also headquarters for the famous orphan house. The theological faculty at the University of Halle came into prominence under the leadership of the pietist, Philip Jacob Spener (1635-1705); August Hermann Francke succeeded Spener, and during his tenure he established the benevolent institutions which are collectively known as the orphanage or orphan house. These institutions represented a far greater variety of religious and educational activities than would be true of an orphanage in the

strict sense of the term, and eventually the Halle institutions passed even the university in their influence. The missionary activity of the orphanage extended to all parts of the world. Consequently, it was only natural that the struggling congregations in Pennsylvania should turn to the Halle fathers for assistance.

From the viewpoint of his attitude towards church music, the Halle officials could hardly have selected a better person than Muhlenberg. Muhlenberg himself was a practicing musician. He had studied organ with a Mr. Alberty at the minster in Einbeck, and he had received three different offers to serve as an organist--from an unidentified noble court, from the little town of Dassel, and from Einbeck, the town of his birth and earlier education.[5] A biography included in a memorial booklet to Muhlenberg which the Philadelphia church printed shortly after his death contains the following statements:

> He was remarkably widely accomplished in music, and this proved to be very useful for him in the exercise of his pastoral calling in America, since at first he often had to be precentor, organist, and preacher all in one.[6]
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> . . . . . .
>
> He was a good connoiseur of music. He sang accurately and admirably. He played the organ unusually charmingly, as well as the harp, cither, and violin.[7]

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[5] Tappert, I, 1. Also in Heinrich M. Muhlenberg, Selbstbiographie, 1711-1743, ed. W. Germann (Allentown: Brobst, Diehl, 1881), p. 2.

[6] [J. H. C. Helmuth], Denkmal der Liebe und Achtung welches seiner Hochwürden dem Herrn D. Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg, verdienstvollesten Senior des Evangelisch-Lutherischen Ministeriums in Nord-America und treueifrigsten ersten Lehrers an der St. Michaelis und Zions-Gemeinde in Philadelphia ist gesetzet worden (Philadelphia: Melchior Steiner, 1788), p. 29. Evans 21139.

[7] Ibid., p. 47.

These appraisals of Muhlenberg's musical training and ability are especially noteworthy since they lend greater credence to the evaluations of musical matters which occur in his letters and diaries.

Muhlenberg's first and most important task upon arriving in Philadelphia was to organize the scattered Lutherans into permanent congregations. Despite the large German population, these people did not have even so much as a church of their own within Philadelphia, but attended services at Gloria Dei or wherever they could find a building suitable for worship. Obviously an adequate church building was a primary necessity, and on April 5, 1743, Muhlenberg presided at the laying of the cornerstone of St. Michael's Church.[8] Financial problems made construction a slow process, however, and it was not until August 14, 1748, that the church was officially consecrated. The service of dedication was arranged so as to coincide with the first meeting of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, thus making the event a very significant one.[9] Muhlenberg's description of the service[10] says that the invited preachers and delegates first assembled both inside and before

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[8] Tappert, I, 94.

[9] Pastors attending the dedication included Peter Brunnholtz, who arrived in Philadelphia in 1745, and Johann Frederick Handschuh, who arrived in 1748.

[10] Tappert, I, 201-202. See also Johann Ludewig Schulze (ed.), Nachrichten von den vereinigten deutschen Evangelisch- Lutherischen Gemeinen in Nord-America (Halle: Waisenhaus, 1787), p. 284. This volume is a collected edition of the "Halle Reports" issued by the orphan house from 1744-1786, and incorporating letters and documents which Muhlenberg sent to the church fathers in Halle as evidence of his ministerial work in America. The reports were sent to persons who had contributed to the missions in America via Halle. They were designed both to inform the contributors what their gifts were accomplishing and also to incite them to further contributions. The modern edition edited by Mann, Schmucker, and Germann includes copious footnotes and supplementary documents in addition to reprinting the original reports themselves.

the dwelling of Pastor Brunnholtz (resident pastor at Philadelphia), and marched to the church in procession. The service proper began with the singing of "Komm, heiliger Geist, Herre Gott," choirwise and harmoniously ("chorweise und harmonisch gesungen"). All the preachers present stood around the altar, while the delegates formed a semicircle in the organ loft. After the service of consecration and appropriate remarks, the assembly sang several stanzas of "Sei Lob und Ehr dem höchsten Gut," this being followed by the sermon and the remainder of the service.

Perhaps the most interesting part of Muhlenberg's description is his reference to singing chorweise. As we shall see in the following pages, mention of "choirwise" singing is very frequent in accounts of eighteenth-century Lutheran services in America. This term is normally used in a sense that implies something different from regular congregational singing. Two possibilities exist as to what this might have been. The first is that the congregation sang in harmony. Chorweise literally means "in chorus," and choir music of the eighteenth century was virtually synonymous with part-music. The account in the Halle reports adds the words "und harmonisch" to choirwise, which might imply that the different voices sang in harmony with one another, although it is possible that it simply means that the singing sounded very good, i.e. harmonious.

The second possibility is that "choirwise" refers to antiphonal singing in which one section of the congregation or the choir would answer another. Support for this second possibility is found in an entry in Muhlenberg's diary for October 17, 1779, in a discussion of a service at

Providence: "In order to restore some order to the singing, which had deteriorated. . . I had the congregation sing choirwise, that is, the women singing one stanza of a hymn alone, the whole congregation the second stanza, and so on."[11] This seems to be an explicit definition, except that we also have documentation of congregational part-singing as well as antiphonal singing in the eighteenth-century Lutheran churches.[12] In all probability, therefore, choirwise singing could refer to either antiphonal music or singing in harmony, or both. At any rate, it seems to indicate a different manner of performance from regular congregational singing.

St. Michael's Receives an Organ

At the dedication of St. Michael's we read that the delegates formed a semicircle in the organ loft, but there is no mention of an organ being present. Apparently the church did not obtain an instrument until 1750-1751, when a German organist named Gottlieb Mittelberger arrived in Philadelphia along with an organ for the church. This organ was built in Heilbronn, Germany, and at its formal dedication on May 12, 1751, it was reputed to be the largest instrument in Philadelphia.

Like many travelers both ancient and modern, Mittelberger published an account of his experiences upon his return to Germany in 1754. This book is a valuable commentary upon life in Pennsylvania at the time,

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[11] Tappert, III, 267.

[12] Cf. chapter vi on the Salzburg settlements in Georgia for an example of how a congregation sang in parts even though they lacked an organ.

but Mittelberger was often rather careless with his facts and always described events involving himself so as to put himself in the best possible light. The title of his book is: Reise nach Pennsylvanien im Jahr 1750 und Rükreise nach Teutschland im Jahr 1754 ("A Journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and the Return Trip to Germany in the Year 1754").[13] After a special service held in the church at Heilbronn on May 18, 1750, Mittelberger left with the organ, sailing down the Neckar and the Rhine to Rotterdam, where he boarded a ship that arrived in Philadelphia on October 10, 1750. He spent almost four years in Pennsylvania, where he was organist and schoolmaster for Augustus Lutheran Church at Providence.[14]

Mittelberger observes that the cultivation of music in Pennsylvania was rather rare, compared to the abundance of music in Germany. He claims that he brought the first organ to America--a claim which we know to be false--and that this instrument created a great sensation when it was first installed. He goes on to add that while he was in Pennsylvania, five other churches (all Lutheran) first installed organs in addition to St. Michael's: Germantown, Providence, New Hanover, Tulpehocken, and Lancaster. This statement, also, is at least partially incorrect, since there were organs in Lancaster and Germantown before Mittelberger's coming. Although he specifically refers to bringing only the organ for

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[13] (Stuttgard: Jenisch, 1756). A modern edition is printed under the title, Journey to Pennsylvania, trans. Carl T. Eben (Philadelphia: J. J. McVey, 1898).

[14] Ibid., pp. 1-2 (original edition).

St. Michael's across the Atlantic with him, a sentence on page 105 of his book implies that he might have brought other instruments as well ("dass ich schöne und gute Instrumenten mitgebracht"). It is possible that these other instruments might have included some small organs. Mittelberger was undoubtedly correct when he claimed that people came from many miles to hear him play. There were so few pipe organs in Pennsylvania at the time that people were naturally willing to travel considerable distances to hear one.

During the winter of 1750-1751 the organ was set up in St. Michael's Church, and its dedication on the following May 12 coincided with a meeting of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. According to Mittelberger, fifteen Lutheran pastors and a huge crowd estimated at several thousand persons stood both inside and outside the church during the dedication services. Muhlenberg states that eight Lutheran ministers, delegates from each congregation in the ministerium, and "a great crowd of people" were present for this joyful occasion.[15] The day after the dedication Mittelberger received his appointment to be organist and schoolmaster at Providence.

Rev. Hartwich performed the actual dedication rites, but all the pastors joined in conducting various portions of the service. An entry in Rev. Handschuh's diary for the date says that the people appeared to exhibit much astonishment and enjoyment over the beautiful sound of the organ.[16] The local fame of this organ lasted for many years after its installation, and

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[15] Ibid., p. 105, and Tappert, I, 276.

[16] Mann, II, 69.

persons who were not members of the church would attend services in order to hear it. While he was in Philadelphia, Daniel Fisher wrote the following extract in his diary for May 25, 1755: "I staid at home till Three, then went to the Lutheran Church, a neat Brick Building where there is a good organ to which I heard them sing Psalms, agreeably enough, tho' I was a Stranger to the Language (High Dutch)."[17] Two weeks later, on Sunday, June 8, Fisher again entered in his diary that the Lutheran church had a good organ and a good organist.

Two contemporary imprints--one published in Germany and the other in Philadelphia--were issued as part of the festivities concerning the new organ for St. Michael's. The German imprint is a four-page pamphlet with an elaborate title page which, translated into English, reads:

> "The New Affirmation of God for Philadelphia, Provided by the Trial Performance Which Occurred on the 18th of May, 1750, in Heilbronn on Holy Whitmonday in the Presence of Different Musical Connoiseurs, of the Organ Built by Mr. Johann Adam Schmall, Skilled Organ Builder from That Place, and Transported to Philadelphia in Pennsylvania under the Direction of Mr. Johann George Tandenberger, Being Determined for St. Michael's Church Thereat. Comprising a Few Verses by Carl Ludwig Bilsinger, Pastor at Reccarbeyhingen."[18]

It contains the text of a cantata sung at Heilbronn when the organ was publicly tested before being shipped to Philadelphia. The cantata is in two sections. The first consists of a recitative, aria, recitative, aria, tutti, recitative, and chorus (in that order). The second section is headed:

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[17] "Extracts from the Diary of Daniel Fisher, 1755," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, XVII (July, 1893), 267.

[18] (Heilbronn: Johann Christian Leuchten und Tochtermann, Wilhelm Ludwig Allinger, [1750]).

"Philadelphia's thankful reception of the organ, which by the grace of God is dedicated to his honor and which arrived safely." It has an aria, recitative, aria, tutti, recitative, and chorus. Unfortunately there is no reference to the music that was used. A copy of this pamphlet is in the archives of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, which are housed in the Krauth Memorial Library of the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Mt. Airy (Philadelphia). The original German title page reads:

Die neue
Versicherung GOttes
An
Philadelphien,
Stellte
Bey der den 18. May 1750.
in Heilbronn
An dem heiligen Pfingst-Montag in Beyseyn
zerschiedener Music-Erfahrner,
Geschehenen Probierung
Der
Von Herrn Johann Adam Schmahl,
Kunsterfahrnen Orgelmacher dahier,
Verfertigten
Und unter Direction
Herrn Johann Georg Tandenbergers
Nacher Philadelphien in Pensilvanien
Transportirenden
Orgel,
Welche in dasige St. Michaelis-Kirche bestimmet ist,
An einigen Versen
Vor
M. Carl Ludwig Bilsinger
Pfarrer zu Reccarbeyhingen.

Heilbronn, gedruckt bey Johann Christian Leuchten, und Tochtermann Wilhelm Ludwig Allinger

The second imprint is even more interesting because it was an issue of Benjamin Franklin's press, and has apparently been overlooked both in the standard bibliographies of early American printing as well

as in the specialized bibliographies devoted to the issues of Franklin's press. It has not been possible to locate a copy of this imprint, but a copy obviously was available to the editors of the American reprint of the Halle reports, since they discuss it in some detail.[19] The dedication service in St. Michael's was intended as a counterpart to the special service in Heilbronn. Like the Heilbronn program, the title page (as quoted by Mann) is itself quite informative. It reads:

> Philadelphischer Widerschall des herzlichen Wunsches der Evangelischen Brüder in Teutschland, welche die Verfertigung des vortrefflichen Orgel-Werkes für die Evangelische St. Michaelis-Kirche in Philadelphia veranstaltet und befördert; so dieselbige bei Probirung solcher Orgel in Heilbronn in lieblicher Harmonie von sich hören lassen; Gott zum Preise erwidert bei Einweihung solcher Orgel, so geschehen in Philadelphia, Dominica Rogate, am 12. Mai 1751, von dem sämtlichen Vereinigten Ministerio, den Abgeordneten der Vereinigten Evang. Gemeinden und der Philadelphia gantzen Gemeinde. ("Philadelphia's Answering Celebration to the Affectionate Wishes of the Evangelical Brethren in Germany, Organized and Inspired by the Completion of the Excellent Organ for the Evangelical St. Michael's Church in Philadelphia; Although the Selfsame Was Heard in Sweet Harmony with the Testing of Said Organ in Heilbronn, the Dedication of Said Organ in Philadelphia on Rogate Sunday, 12 May, 1751, by the Assembled United Ministerium, the Delegates of the United Evangelical Congregations, and the Entire Philadelphia Congregation Rejoins All the More to Praise God.")[20]

The pamphlet contains a discussion of the validity and proper function of music. Music is said to be of no use in satisfying bodily needs, but is rather a manifestation of the essence of God and of godly qualities for the well-being of men. Therefore, men are able to experience and

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[19] Mann, II, 132.

[20] (Philadelphia: Benjamin Franklin and Johann Böhm, [1751]).

to find God through music. Congregational singing needs the support of instruments, and the organ is especially suited for this purpose. Thus an organ becomes an aid in leading men to God.

After this discussion of the need for and the proper use of music, the pamphlet continues with the text of the music for the dedication. The special numbers included three arias, two recitatives, and two choruses. Thus it is obvious that on this occasion the special music did not involve merely congregational singing, but called for a choir and soloists to present this cantata. The pamphlet mentions that the organ had twenty full registers, which surely would have made it an instrument of quite respectable size for Philadelphia of 1751. It is doubtful if it were the largest organ in America, however, as some accounts claimed. Sonneck quotes the New York Gazette of January 3, 1763, as saying that the organ which Johann G. Klemm built for Trinity Church, New York, in 1739-1740 had twenty-six stops--ten in the great organ, ten in the choir, and six in the swell.[21]

Accounts of Music and Singing in St. Michael's

From the dedication of the organ in 1751 until the completion of Holy Trinity Church, Lancaster, in 1766, and of Zion Church, Philadelphia, in 1769, St. Michael's was the leading Lutheran congregation in Pennsylvania. Since most members of the congregation were first-generation immigrants, most of the people were quite poor and the church was often beset by severe financial problems. Yet the congregation nonetheless increased in both size

[21] Sonneck, Early Concert Life. . . , p. 169, f.n. 5.

and influence with striking rapidity.

Accounts of music and singing during these years are somewhat scattered, but they are sufficient to show that the congregation maintained a choir and also called upon the pupils in the parochial school to assist in programs of church music. During the 1760's a Mr. Hafner served as organist for St. Michael's. Muhlenberg mentions a "visit from Mr. Hafner, the organist" on November 1, 1761.[22] Hafner obviously did not become very wealthy from his position; an entry of January 10, 1763, mentions that the sum of three pounds paid him for his services in the fourth quarter of the preceding year had not been properly recorded.[23] It was customary to pay the organist from a quarterly collection held for that purpose, although special contributions were also gathered at times. On October 28, 1765, Hafner received an increase in salary, for among the items of business at a meeting of the church officers one reads: "It was decided that Mr. Hafner's salary as organist be set at £4 currency quarterly."[24]

Hafner's duties included not only playing the organ to support congregational singing, but also training the choir and arranging for special music during the services. Muhlenberg's diary for February 7, 1762, says that music for Septuagesima Sunday included three stanzas of "Jauchzet all mit Macht, Ihr Frommen" "played instrumentally."[25] It is not clear whether

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[22] Tappert, I, 467.

[23] Ibid., p. 586.

[24] Ibid., II, 279.

[25] Ibid., I, 489.

"played instrumentally" means performed by an instrumental ensemble or on the organ alone. Either would have been possible, though the former seems more likely since Muhlenberg would probably have written "played on the organ" had the performance been by organ alone (this is usually the case throughout his diaries). A week later, on February 14, Muhlenberg mentions that music was included in a funeral service in addition to singing a few chorales. Again on the basis of context, this reference to music probably means something other than congregational singing. Muhlenberg and other eighteenth-century writers often call instrumental numbers, solos, anthems, and even cantatas by the term "church music" or simply "music," but they rarely refer to congregational singing in such terms. For example, on January 9, 1763, Muhlenberg writes that after installing the newly elected church officers "a piece of music was played and we closed with the stanza, 'Der Herr ist noch und nimmer nicht, von seinem Volck geschieden' etc."[26] A similar reference to "music," apparently indicating something other than congregational singing, occurs on November 28, 1762, the first Sunday in Advent,[27] as well as on Easter Sunday, 1763, when Muhlenberg writes that "first there was music and then we sang 'Jesus Christus unser Heiland! etc.'"[28]

Though it is difficult to ascertain what instruments in addition to the organ were sometimes used in the services, it seems fairly clear that a cello or perhaps a gamba regularly supported the organ bass. Most

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[26] Ibid., p. 586.

[27] Ibid., p. 573.

[28] Ibid., p. 615.

chorale books of the eighteenth century are written with only a melody and a figured bass; it was up to the organist to provide his own realization. A cello or a gamba would, therefore, have been a logical addition to support the bass line, not only during special numbers by the choir or soloists, but during congregational singing as well. On December 4, 1763, Muhlenberg writes the following:

> In the forenoon I went to the church. We sang "Nun komt der Heiden Heiland" etc. A good friend had presented a bass violin for the organ and requested that the choir sing several stanzas of the hymn, "O ihr auserwählten Kinder," etc., which was done.[29]

Among Muhlenberg's other references to music at St. Michael's is one dated October 24, 1762, which describes a Sunday afternoon worship service:

> First they played some music, then they sang, choirwise, "Herr Gott, dich loben wir" . . . After the sermon they sang, choirwise, the hymn "Nun danket alle Gott," etc. I asked Mr. Handschuh to read Psalm 146 in closing, which he did. Afterwards they played a few stanzas of "Lobe den Herrn, O meine Seele."[30]

These references to "they" are not very clear. Afternoon services usually centered around catechetical instruction, so "they" might refer to the school children. On the other hand, Muhlenberg often uses "they" to mean everyone who was present at a service. The description clearly shows, however, that instrumental music per se and not merely as accompaniment to singing was a definite part of the service.

On Easter Sunday, April 11, 1762, the choir sang "Triumph,

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[29] Ibid., p. 717.

[30] Ibid., p. 563.

Triumph, es komt t. Macht" as the special music, while the principal hymn (sometimes called the sermon hymn) was "Heut triumphiret Gottes Sohn."[31] On Pentecost (May 30) of the same year Muhlenberg says that after conducting services and instructing the children in the afternoon (Kinderlehre), he distributed some verses which had been printed for the occasion. No other record or extant copy of such an imprint is known to exist, but it was common practice to have special hymn texts printed for the most important festival days and then to distribute these texts to the congregation. Often the local pastor wrote the texts himself, adapting them to well known melodies; this was an especially common practice during Helmuth's pastorate in Philadelphia (1779-1825).

Continuing with accounts of music, Muhlenberg reports that at a funeral on January 30, 1763, 'the whole congregation sang choirwise, 'Nun lasst uns den Leib begraben,' etc., and the choir and the women responded with 'So grabet mich nun immer hin,' etc."[32] The text of "So grabet mich nun immerhin" forms an answer to "Nun lasst uns den Leib begraben." The first hymn consists of comments made by those gathered about the grave of the deceased, while the second is written as if the dead person himself were speaking. Both hymns are sung to the melody of "Nun lasst uns den Leib begraben," and they are obviously designed to be sung in succession, like one hymn with two parts.

The frequency of choirwise singing is shown by the fact that in Muhlenberg's diaries just for the year 1763 he mentions it under the dates

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[31] Ibid., p. 503.

[32] Ibid., p. 592.

of February 27, March 20, May 1, May 15, May 29, August 9, August 14, September 4, October 16 (when there also was special "church music" and "instrumental music"), and December 18.[33] Since many of these references occur incidentally, it is obvious that choirwise singing was even more frequent than Muhlenberg's diary indicates. Muhlenberg gives some additional comments concerning music under the first of these dates, February 27. After he had finished instructing the children during the afternoon service, "they then had some music and thereafter I delivered a brief address on the Gospel, Matthew 15. . . Then sang, choirwise, 'O Jesu mein Bräutigam, wie ist mir so wohl," and closed with a beautiful piece of music."[34]

On October 11, 1764, Muhlenberg officiated at the funeral services for Rev. J. F. Handschuh in St. Michael's Church, followed three days later by a memorial service. Both occasions called for special music by the choir. Muhlenberg's diary mentions only that the memorial service closed with several stanzas by the choir, but he gives more details concerning the funeral proper:

> First the choir sang two stanzas of the hymn, "Meinen Jesum Ich erwähle," etc. Then Brother Voigt delivered an awakening address on I Samuel 15:32, "Surely the bitterness of death is past." When this was finished the choir sang softly, "Mich verlangt dich mit der Schaar, die dich loben, auszuschauen," etc. from the hymn, "Guter Hirte wilt du nicht." . . . Thereafter I delivered a brief address in English. . . The choir concluded with the singing of the last stanza of "Meine Liebe lebet noch."[35]

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[33] Ibid., under these dates in I.

[34] Ibid., 600.

[35] Ibid., II, 126 and 137.

Sometimes special performers who happened to be in Philadelphia supplemented the music in St. Michael's. Such was the case at the conclusion of the Sunday morning service on January 15, 1764. Judging from Muhlenberg's comments, the performance must have left much to be desired: "The hautboyists who had returned from the frontier fortresses gave us some instrumental music. Good as their intention may have been, the composition was not douse enough to be edifying for the occasion."[36]

Meetings of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania were always times for a little extra effort as far as music was concerned. Muhlenberg's diary for June 29, 1762, reports that a special program of church music was presented at the closing service of the fifteenth convention, which was held in St. Michael's Church. Like most such reports, it gives sufficient information to arouse one's curiosity, but is disconcertingly lacking in details.

> At seven o'clock in the evening there was another large assembly in the church. Several good friends (Squire Kuhn, Mr. Stiegel, etc.) had arranged for an artistic and pleasant program of church music, which was performed. Thereupon Dr. Wrangel preached the last sermon. . .[37]

Dr. Wrangel was the Swedish provost and pastor of Gloria Dei, while Stiegel was Henry William Stiegel of Elizabeth Furnace (near Lancaster), a prosperous owner of an iron foundry who was an ardent supporter of musical activities. In addition to the special musical program in the evening, the pastors and delegates also heard singing by the school

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[36] Ibid., p. 8.

[37] Ibid., I, 532.

children during the afternoon of June 29. This singing was part of a public examination during which the children sang hymns in order to give added variety and enjoyment to the program, as well as to demonstrate their musical capabilities.[38] A similar examination of the children in spelling, reading, singing, and the catechism occurred on November 30, 1762.[39]

In 1763 the Ministerium of Pennsylvania again held its annual meeting in Philadelphia, opening with a Sunday communion service on October 16. The order of worship for this service was: (1) the reading of Psalm 117 followed by singing "Kom Heiliger Geist, Herre Gott"; (2) instrumental music, apparently as a postlude to the hymn, which the instruments also accompanied; (3) Confession, Collect, and Epistle; (4) singing "Sey Lob und Ehr dem höchsten Gut"; (5) reading of the Apostles' Creed; (6) a selection of church music; (7) sermon; (8) two stanzas of "Wachet auf, ruf uns die Stimme," sung choirwise; and (9) the communion service.[40]

The above references to the school children emphasize a very significant factor in the development of music in early American Lutheran churches. Were it not for the important position which music held in the parochial schools, the churches undoubtedly would have been unable to form the choirs and develop the strong congregational singing for which

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[38] A. Spaeth, H. E. Jacobs, and G. F. Spieker (eds.), Documentary History of the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States (Philadelphia: Board of Publication of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, 1898), p. 66.

[39] Tappert, I, 573.

[40] Ibid., pp. 684-685. Also cf. Spaeth, p. 69.

Lutherans were noted during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The church organist was invariably the teacher or one of the teachers in the church school, and it was only natural that he should use his position as a means of furthering church music. Musical ability was always a prime consideration when a congregation was looking for a new schoolmaster. Sometimes the schoolchildren would join with the choir in presenting special numbers of church music. Muhlenberg mentions such an instance on September 29, 1768, when in addition to the regular congregational hymn singing "the choir and the singing classes of the school children sang sweetly, 'Wie schön ist unsers Königs Braut,' etc., 'Mein Freund der schönste aller Schönen,' etc., 'O Ursprung des Lebens,' etc."[41]

Philadelphia: The Building of Zion Church

Only a few years after the construction of St. Michael's Church the flood of German immigration into Pennsylvania reached such proportions that the church was no longer adequate to serve the needs of the congregation. Under Muhlenberg's leadership the Lutherans began planning for a new and much larger church building. On May 16, 1766, the congregation laid the cornerstone for the new Zion Church, near the corner of Fourth and Cherry Streets, and on the following June 11 a second cornerstone ceremony was observed in connection with the annual meeting of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania.[42] After its completion in 1769, however, the Lutherans had so increased in number that even the new house of worship was not completely

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[41] Tappert, II, 361.

[42] Ibid., pp. 301 and 311.

sufficient for their needs. Therefore, rather than selling or tearing down the older St. Michael's building, the congregation maintained two different churches and adopted the name of St. Michael's and Zion's Corporation. This congregation soon had a membership in the thousands, and in the closing decades of the eighteenth century it exerted a strong influence not only among the German Lutherans, but upon life in Philadelphia generally.

The formal dedication of Zion occurred on June 25, 1769, in conjunction with the twenty-second convention of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. Since the church had no organ as yet, there was some problem as how best to support the singing at the consecration ceremonies. The choir leaders finally were able to obtain two men who played the French horn, and they agreed to play for the dedication. Before the service the procession assembled at St. Michael's Church and then marched in a body to Zion. When they reached Zion, "the choir inside, supported by the two French horns, sang the first stanza of 'O heiliger Geist kehr bey uns ein,' etc. This was stirring to one's senses and impressive to one's spirit, in so far as one had opportunity, amid the distractions, to concentrate upon it."[43] After the choir had finished singing, the church doors were opened, and the crowd thronged inside to begin the service proper. Other music included the second stanza of "Allein Gott in der Höh" sung by the entire assembly, while the principal hymn was "Nun danket all und bringet Ehr," sung choirwise just before the sermon. The worship closed with the singing of "Nun danket alle Gott."

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[43] Ibid., p. 400. Also Spaeth, p. 105.

At the time of its dedication, and for many years thereafter, Zion was the largest church edifice in Philadelphia; the Lutherans claimed that it was the handsomest and largest church in North America. The structure was 108 feet long and 80 feet wide, with a seating capacity of well over two thousand. With some squeezing it was possible for as many as three thousand persons to gather within the church. A large balcony greatly added to the seating capacity. "The roof and ceiling were supported by eight large columns, of the Doric order, which served for bases of the arches of the ceiling, which was ornamented and finished in a most magnificent manner."[44]

Shortly after the dedication of Zion, two young pastors--John Christopher Kunze and Justus Henry Christian Helmuth--whose names were to figure prominently in the next generation of American Lutheranism, arrived in Philadelphia from Germany. Helmuth took charge of the church at Lancaster, while Kunze remained in Philadelphia. Despite the ominous rumblings of the approaching Revolution, Kunze actively strived to extend the influence of Lutheranism, especially in respect to education. Although St. Michael's and Zion Congregation had established a good elementary school system, Kunze recognized the lack of an adequate means of providing ministerial candidates with proper pre-university training. Accordingly, in 1773 he organized a school for giving instruction in a classical education, conceived primarily as a preparatory school for prospective ministers who would then complete their training in the college in Philadelphia which later

[44]"German Lutheran Congregation of Philadelphia," The Register of Pennsylvania, IV (December 12, 1829) 371.

became the University of Pennsylvania. Kunze's school, or as he called it, seminarium, is of interest to us primarily because of a few references to music in connection with the school's activities. A record of these activities survives in the seminarium's original minute book entitled, "Protocoll der Amerikanischen Gesellschaft zur Beförderung des Christentums und der Erkenntnis unter den Teutschen in Amerika, 1773" ("Protocol of the American Society for Furthering Christianity and Learning among the Germans in America, 1773").[45]

The seminarium's first public examinations occurred on June 15, 1773, simultaneously with the conclusion of a meeting of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. The students, faculty, and invited guests assembled in Zion Church for the exercises, which opened with an unidentified selection of music. During the course of the proceedings Mr. Frank and Mr. Leuthauszer, teachers in St. Michael's and Zion's school, presented a special number. The music was not specified, but it was probable that one of the gentlemen sang while the other accompanied him on a keyboard instrument. After further addresses by the students a short text written for the occasion (by Kunze?) was sung.[46] A later report of this same examination states that "the entire proceedings were accompanied by vocal and instrumental music."[47]

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[45]Microfilm 41 in the library of the Concordia Historical Institute. The manuscript minutes are transcribed and translated by Carl F. Haussmann, Kunze's Seminarium and the Society for the Propagation of Christianity among the Germans in America (Philadelphia: Americana Germanica, 1917).

[46]Ibid., pp. 44-46 and 115-119.

[47]Ibid., p. 48.

On August 8, 1774, a meeting of the seminarium's officers decided to hold the next examinations in the Lutheran school house, and also to organize a little music to accompany the proceedings. This event occurred on August 10, with sessions at nine in the morning and two in the afternoon. The singing included "Mein Jesu soll der Schönste heissen," "O stiller Jesu, wie dein Wille," and "Kehre wieder, du verirrte Sulamith" in the morning, and "Wie gross ist des allmächt'gen Gute" and "Du bists, dem Preis und Ehre begieret" during the afternoon. In addition there was an instrumental solo designated only as "Im Cornetto" during the morning exercises.[48]

Although the seminarium specialized in classical studies, it was naturally assumed that the teachers would be proficient in music. This is shown by the fact that when a vacancy occurred on the faculty in 1775, a resolution of the vestry of St. Michael's and Zion Congregation dated September 22 states that the four men who were candidates for the position were to appear before the congregation on the next two Sundays and submit to a public examination in singing and in the catechism.[49]

Because of the unsettled times, the seminarium had to struggle merely to stay alive, but it managed to continue its existence until the British troops occupied Philadelphia on September 26, 1777, and took possession of Zion Church and the Lutheran school building for themselves. The British occupation halted all normal church activity. Moreover, it

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[48] Ibid., pp. 63 and 133.

[49] Cited ibid., p. 68.

was unwise for persons in the congregation who were closely associated with Muhlenberg to be in very much prominence during the British occupation, since one of Muhlenberg's sons, Peter Gabriel, was a general officer in Washington's army. Thus from 1777-1780 Lutheran activities in Philadelphia marked time, waiting for the cessation of hostilities which would bring an even greater growth in the influence and importance of St. Michael's and Zion Congregation.

The Germantown Congregation

Although scattered references to Lutheran activities in Germantown exist as early as the closing years of the seventeenth century, the Germantown Lutherans were like their Philadelphia neighbors in that they never attained much stability until after the arrival of Muhlenberg. In 1737 the congregation was able to build a small, stone house of worship, but only three years later the church nearly became extinct for want of members. After Muhlenberg's arrival, however, the congregation began to grow more rapidly, and in 1751 they installed a new organ which remained in use until it was destroyed during the Revolution.[50] Both the Philadelphia and the Germantown churches were called St. Michael's, so one must be careful not to confuse the two different congregations.

The consecration of a greatly enlarged and rebuilt church on October 1, 1752, is the first important service in the early history of the Germantown congregation of which we have a good description. Like most

[50] "German Lutheran Congregation of Germantown," The Register of Pennsylvania, V (March 27, 1830), 193. Apparently this organ replaced one purchased ten years earlier; cf. p. 90 above.

major events in early Pennsylvania Lutheranism, the services were held in conjunction with a meeting of the ministerium. The celebration was on a truly grand scale, with the entire service lasting from ten o'clock in the morning until two in the afternoon. The order of worship was as follows:

1. Opening hymn, "Komm, heiliger Geist," sung choirwise. The assembled preachers[51]--Muhlenberg, Kurz, Schaum, Weygand, Heinzelmann, Schulze, Schrenk, Rauss, and Handschuh--sang the first two verses to a harp accompaniment by the schoolmaster, while the entire congregation joined in singing the third verse.

2. Brunnholtz delivered the address of dedication.

3. Acrelius performed the actual act of dedication.

4. All the pastors present delivered appropriate prayers.

5. The preachers sang the twenty-second and twenty-third verses from Muhlenberg's printed dedication hymn to the accompaniment of the harp.

6. Rauss read Psalm 15.

7. The congregation sang verses seven through nine from "Sei Lob und Ehr dem höchsten Gut."

8. Muhlenberg delivered the dedication sermon.

9. "Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme" was sung choirwise, probably by the congregation, although the order of worship does not say who did the singing.

10. Baptism of a Negro who was to become a church member.

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[51]Except for Brunnholtz and the Swedish pastor, Acrelius, who were also present.

11. Singing of "O Lamm Gottes unschuldig."

12. Prayer.

13. Service of Communion.

14. Singing of "Wie bin ich doch so herzlich froh."

15. Benediction followed by the singing of "Unsern Ausgang segne Gott."[52]

After the service the preachers, their wives, and the schoolmaster all ate together, voicing different hymns of thanks and praise during the meal. There was another service in the church at four o'clock, after which the pastors and their friends stayed up late into the night with singing, prayer, and pleasant conversation.[53]

The fifth item in the order of worship outlined above refers to a lengthy hymn of thirty-six verses which Muhlenberg wrote for the occasion. It was printed under the title:

> Unpartheyische Gedancken in Reimen, bey Einweihung einer Evangelische Kirche in Germanton, Mitgetheilt von einem Fremdlinge unter Mesech [sic] den 1 October 1752. ("Impartial Thoughts in Verse, on the Dedication of an Evangelical Church in Germantown, Told by a Stranger [. . . ?] on October 1, 1752.")[54]

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[52] Mann, II, 91-92 and Spaeth, p. 37.

[53] Mann, II, 92.

[54] [Germantown: Christopher Saur? 1752]. Evans 6890. Muhlenberg's hymn is reprinted in Mann, I, 466-469, and in John J. Stoudt, "Pennsylvania German Poetry, 1685-1830," The Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, XX (1955), 137-144.

The hymn is to be sung to the melody of "Wann wird doch mein Jesus." After first singing the praises of God, the text becomes a supplication to the Holy Spirit to send purity of heart, etc.

Since Muhlenberg did not serve the Germantown congregation except as a visiting pastor, his diaries contain only occasional references to services there. On October 24, 1762, he records: "Went to the church and found a crowded auditorium. First they played some music, then they sang, choirwise, 'Herr Gott, dich loben wir.'"[55] This cursory entry shows that the Germantown congregation followed at least two of the musical practices of their Philadelphia brethren, namely the use of an instrumental prelude of some sort and choirwise singing. While the phrase, "they played some music," could refer to an ensemble, it might simply mean the organist. We have already seen that Muhlenberg's "they" is sometimes uncomfortably ambiguous.

Music in the Lancaster Church

At the outbreak of the Revolution Holy Trinity Church in Lancaster stood second only to St. Michael's and Zion congregation of Philadelphia in size, wealth, and influence upon Pennsylvania Lutherans. Indeed, during the earlier years of Muhlenberg's ministry the prosperous Lutheran farmers and businessmen around Lancaster formed a congregation which was on a far more solid financial footing than was true of their Philadelphia brethren. It is not certain precisely when Trinity Church acquired its first organ,

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[55] Tappert, I, 563.

but sometime during or shortly before 1744 George Kraft built a small instrument for the congregation.[56] This undoubtedly was the same instrument as that mentioned in Rev. Handschuh's diary for Cantate Sunday in April, 1749, where he reports that the church council held a meeting after the service to discuss necessary repairs to the church and to the organ, along with other business.[57] The Lancaster church fathers probably wanted to make these repairs so that everything would be in the best condition for the second annual meeting of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, held at Lancaster the following June. Although no mention of music occurs in the account of this meeting, Handschuh's diary for June 5, 1749, reports that after the close of the convention the pastors and delegates went to the house of one of the church council members for a special dinner. "During the meal, edifying hymns were sung alternately in each of the rooms, and everything was ended in the best spirit and to general satisfaction."[58]

The Lancaster congregation prospered to such a degree that by 1761 it was necessary to begin construction of a new and larger church. This building was able to accommodate up to fifteen hundred persons and is still used for worship by the congregation today. The formal consecration services were on May 4, 1766, and accounts of the order of worship as worked out by the pastors and musicians on the previous day survive in both the church records and in Muhlenberg's diary. The festivities proceeded as follows:

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[56]Caroline S. Coldren, "Religious Life in Lancaster Borough," Lancaster County Historical Society, XLV (1941), 127.

[57]Mann, I, 537.

[58]Ibid., p. 539. Also Spaeth, p. 26.

1. After the procession into the church Muhlenberg opened the service by reading Psalm 100.

2. The choir, instructed and directed by Henry Stiegel, sang the first verse of "Komm heiliger Geist, Herre Gott, erfüll mit deiner Gnade" to the accompaniment of instrumental music.

3. Rev. Gerock gave a declaration of the purpose of the building.

4. The choir sang the second verse of "Komm heiliger Geist."

5. Each of the eight pastors present read a suitable scriptural passage, closing with a short prayer by Muhlenberg.

6. The choir sang the third stanza of "Komm heiliger Geist."

7. An expression of thanks was given to the church's benefactors.

8. The entire congregation sang the fifth stanza of "Sey Lob und Ehr dem höchsten Gut."

9. Henry Stiegel directed the choir in a selection of "artistic, choice, and cheering church music" which he had specially arranged and prepared for this occasion at the request of the church council.

10. Muhlenberg delivered the sermon at the morning service (Gerock delivered it in the afternoon, and the Rev. Mr. Barton, an Episcopalian missionary, spoke in the evening). Music both preceded and followed the sermon.

11. The congregation received the Benediction.[59]

During the afternoon service there was again a special performance of church music. Likewise, there was music both before and after the

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[59] Tappert, II, 298-299. Also the Memorial Volume of the Evang. Lutheran Church of the Holy Trinity, Lancaster, Pa. (Lancaster: John Baer's Sons, 1861), pp. 43-44.

respective sermons at morning and afternoon worship the next day (Monday). The texts of the musical selections for the dedication service had been printed and were distributed to the congregation so that all could follow the choir.[60]

Henry Stiegel, the choir director, was the same person whom we met in connection with an evening of church music at the 1762 ministerium meeting in Philadelphia. He lived near Lancaster and was in a position to sponsor performances of chamber music in his home. Perhaps some of the same instrumentalists who played for Stiegel also assisted in the dedication services. None of the music itself seems to have survived, but considering the proximity of the Ephrata cloisters and the Moravian influence at nearby Lititz, the Lutherans probably presented a fairly elaborate performance in keeping with the congregation's prestige as one of the leading churches in the area.

Amateur musicians existed in fairly large numbers among the early Pennsylvania Germans, partly because of the emphasis upon music in the parochial schools. A citation in Muhlenberg's diary for July 3, 1767, was probably typical of the times: "A couple of young people, members of the congregation [Lancaster] living in the neighborhood, were enjoying some recreation after the close of the day's work by blowing two horns from the roof of their house. They played the melody of 'Seelen-Bräutigam' . . ."[61]

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[60]No listing of such an imprint occurs in the standard bibliographies of American-German printing. A copy is said to exist in the archives of Holy Trinity Church, but the writer was unable to find it when he visited Lancaster in February, 1960.

[61]Tappert, II, 344.

The Ministerium of Pennsylvania again met in Lancaster for their twenty-fifth annual convention in September, 1772. The minutes for Sunday, September 27, state that there were three worship services, each featuring vocal and instrumental music by the choir.[62] Discussing these same services, Muhlenberg says: "The congregation was very large, orderly, and attentive at all three services today, and each service was concluded with vocal and instrumental music by the choir."[63] These references indicate that the Lancaster congregation was maintaining its interest in music, a fact which became even more apparent at the ministerium meeting in Philadelphia the next year. The minutes of this meeting for June 13, 1773, mention a letter from the church council at Lancaster inviting the synod to meet there again in 1774, since their new church organ would then be finished and played for the first time.[64]

This organ was built by David Tannenberg, a native of Lititz, who constructed many outstanding instruments during his lifetime, primarily for Lutheran, Reformed, and Moravian churches. Although the specifications for this organ are not known, it undoubtedly was a fairly large instrument since Tannenberg was a good judge in building organs to conform to the size of the church, and the Lutheran church at Lancaster was one of the largest in the colonies at the time. In July, 1771, a total of 321 members of the congregation signed their names to the subscription which raised funds

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[62] Spaeth, p. 129.

[63] Tappert, II, 509.

[64] Spaeth, p. 144.

for building the instrument.[65]

Thomas Anburey, an English lieutenant in General Burgoyne's army, was in Lancaster during the Revolution, and several years after his return to England he published an account of his alleged travel experiences in America under the title: Travels through the Interior Parts of America in a Series of Letters.[66] Anburey's book was quite popular; it received a second English edition in 1791, French editions in 1790, 1792, and 1793, and a German edition in 1792. It is of interest to us because it contains a description of Holy Trinity Church and the organ. Anburey was especially intrigued by the pedals, which were still a rarity in eighteenth-century England. Some of the details, such as the price and the length of time that he claims Tannenberg spent in constructing the organ, are obviously exaggerated. While Anburey actually was in Pennsylvania during the Revolution, he plagiarized much of his book from other writers.[67] However, he claims to have written the following in a letter from Lancaster dated December 17, 1778:

> The town of Lancaster has no building of any consequence, except the Lutheran church, which, is only built of brick, the inside has a most magnificent appearance; the large galleries on each side, the spacious organ-loft, supported by Corinthian pillars, are exceedingly beautiful, and there are pillars of the

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[65] Schmauk, XI, 331.

[66] (London: William Lane, 1789).

[67] See Whitfield J. Bell, "Thomas Anburey's 'Travels Through America': A Note on Eighteenth-Century Plagiarism," Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America, XXXVII (January, 1943), 23-36.

> Ionic order, from the galleries to the roof. The altarpiece is very elegantly ornamented; the whole of the church, as well as the organ, painted white with gilt decorations, which has a very neat appearance; it greatly reminded me of the chapel at Greenwich Hospital; the organ is reckoned the largest and best in America, it was built by a German, who resides about seventeen miles from Lancaster, he made every individual part of it with his own hands; it was near seven years in compleating; the organ has not only every pipe and stop that is in most others, but it has many other pipes to swell the bass, which are of an amazing circumference, and these are played upon by the feet, there being a row of wooden keys that the performer treads on. I do not recollect ever seeing an organ of this construction, except those of the Savoy Chapel and St. Paul's; in the latter they are shut up as the vibration of sound was found too powerful for the dome; but then they had only four or five of these wooden keys, whereas this organ has a dozen: the man who shewed the instrument played on it, and the effect of these keys was astonishing, it absolutely made the very building shake. It is the largest, and I think the finest I ever saw, without exception; and when you examine it, you wonder it did not take up the man's whole life in constructing; to estimate its goodness and value, I shall only tell you it cost two thousand five hundred pounds sterling; to you who are so musical, what a treat would it be to be here a few hours only. . .[68]

Other Churches in the Lancaster Area

As far as music is concerned, Lutheran activities in the country around Lancaster during the 1760's were dominated by the colorful figure of Henry William Stiegel. Stiegel was a relatively wealthy landowner and operator of an iron foundry who lived northwest of Lancaster near the town of Manheim. Because of his wealth, his large home, his servants, and the manner in which he promoted music--activities normally associated with European aristocracy, he was popularly known as "Baron" Stiegel. He supported various small rural Lutheran churches in the area, and

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[68] Anburey, II, 303-305.

served for many years as vestryman, trustee, and organist of Emanuel Church, Brickerville, which he represented as a lay delegate at the 1762 ministerium meeting in Philadelphia.[69]

Muhlenberg's diary for June 1, 1767, mentions that the Swedish provost, Dr. Wrangel, had been visiting various Lutheran congregations around Lancaster and had stopped at Elizabeth Furnace, where Stiegel "maintains a German Lutheran domestic chapel at his own cost for his Lutheran workingmen and neighbors; he has an organ, and beautiful church music is played there." This reference to "church music," of course, means instrumental and vocal music in addition to regular hymn singing. Two years later, an entry in Muhlenberg's diary for May 6, 1769, gives further details concerning Stiegel's domestic chapel:

> He has a large and splendid house, like a nobleman's palace. He employs German laborers almost exclusively in his iron foundry. And in order that he might further the spiritual welfare of these poor people and edify his own family, he set apart a large hall on the second floor of his house for divine service, furnished it with an organ and seats, and has for several years been retaining one or another member of our Ministerium to conduct Evangelical services in the said domestic church or chapel about every fourth Sunday. . . A few miles from this iron foundry he established a village, [Manheim] and there, too, he dedicated an imposing house, containing a hall furnished with a pulpit, organ, and seats for German Evangelical services.[70]

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[69] George B. Ammon, "Emanuel Church, Brickerville," The History of the Lancaster Conference of the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and the Adjacent States, Together with the Histories of Its Congregations (Lebanon: By the conference, 1942), p. 52.

[70] Tappert, II, 391-392.

This house at Manheim later became an incongruous combination of a tavern and a chapel--both under the same roof, but fortunately completely separate from one another. "An inhabitant of the village, a native of the district around Leipzig and a born musician, played the organ."[71]

Despite his active support of church music in the surrounding area, Stiegel's efforts did not always meet with success or with unanimous approval. Under the date of August 30, 1769, Muhlenberg describes at least one instance in the small Warwick church where an old precentor refused to bow to instrumental support for congregational singing.

> The German gentleman, Mr. Stiegel, who has his iron works near by, was also at the church with his family. He brought his musicians with him in order to support the hymn singing with French horns and hautbois, for there is no organ there. But the old schoolmaster and precentor, a dear, honest man with a strong, harsh, trumpeting voice which drowns out everything else and lacks flexibility--perhaps he comes from that age in which it was customary to pound organ keys with one's fist--won over most of the congregation to follow him; they sang the hymn in G while the musicians played in F, which was disturbing to the devotions of those who had a musical ear. To be sure, new composers proceed, according to elevated, modern taste, per aspera ad astra and like to swing from disharmony to harmony. In this case, however, it was impossible to get out of the disharmony; one simply stuck fast there.[72]

Apparently the playing and singing went more smoothly at a service in the Warwich church on November 4, 1770, another occasion on which Stiegel arranged for instrumental music. Muhlenberg writes: "We sang, as the principal hymn, 'O Jesu, Jesu, Gottes Sohn,' etc.

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[71] Ibid., p. 423.

[72] Ibid., p. 414.

The gentleman from the furnace had lent his house-organ to the church, and also had two of his servants blow French horns in accompaniment, which sounds delightful in country churches and supports the singing."[73]

This use of wind instruments in addition to the organ as a means of supporting the singing shows a keen desire on the part of even a small, rural congregation to embellish their worship with the added color and beauty of instrumental music. Such an attitude toward music is in the true Lutheran tradition, which from the time of Luther himself has viewed music as the handmaid of theology, and has given music a prominent position in the worship of God.

Churches at Providence, New Hanover, and Pikestown

Muhlenberg's original call to Pennsylvania came from three different congregations--Philadelphia, Providence (Trappe), and New Hanover (Falckner Swamp). The Providence and New Hanover churches were located about thirty miles north of Philadelphia, and it was this area that Muhlenberg called "home" and to which he retired in later years. The church at Providence, which was built shortly after Muhlenberg's arrival, still exists, and is officially named Augustus Church in honor of August Hermann Francke of Halle. In 1751 the congregation built a gallery on the northeast side to accommodate a newly purchased organ which was sent from Germany through the agency of Gottlieb Mittelberger. Muhlenberg consecrated this organ on the Sunday before October 31, 1751,

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[73] Ibid., p. 467.

and Mittelberger himself was organist for over three years. This instrument served the Providence church for many years, but during the course of the nineteenth century it was gradually eviscerated.[74]

Like many rural churches, the Providence congregation had difficulty raising sufficient money to procure and keep a good organist-schoolmaster. Muhlenberg records the following from a congregational meeting held on May 11, 1763:

> Afterwards I asked whether they desired to engage the organist whom they had heard and allow him to teach school. Answer: Yes, if they could only raise enough money for his support. . . I made a trial and let the members present write down what they would give toward the organ-playing for a year. The total was £11. So, if the rest pay the customary school money, the school will be continued with God's help.[75]

Apparently this organist-schoolmaster did not remain at Providence very long, for on August 13, 1764, one reads: "As the school had not been conducted for some time and everything was lying waste, we again appointed another schoolmaster today who will also play the organ.[76]

During the troubles of the Revolution Muhlenberg sometimes solved the organist problem by playing himself. On March 24, 1776, he states that he played the organ to accompany the singing of Lenten hymns.[77] As was true of many other congregations, the Revolution had a devastating effect

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[74]Ernest T. Kretschmann, The Old Trappe Church (Philadelphia: By the congregation, 1893), p. 61.

[75]Tappert, I, 628.

[76]Ibid., II, 109.

[77]Ibid., p. 719.

upon the Providence church. An entry for August 17, 1783, remarks that the organ needed repair and the organ builder was asking £18 plus four weeks' board and lodging.[78] Because of the war, however, the congregation was so impoverished as to be unable to care for its needs. Since the organ builder estimated that it would take him a month to complete the job, the repairs must have amounted to a virtual rebuilding of the instrument. However, congregational singing nonetheless continued at the Providence church, apparently with organ support. Muhlenberg's diary for June 13, 1784, mentions a combined confirmation and communion service for which the opening hymn was "Ach bleib mit deiner Gnade" and the principal hymn "Wenn dein hertzliebster Sohn, O Gott." During the distribution of the Elements the congregation sang "Seelen-Bräutigam."[79]

The New Hanover or Falckner Swamp congregation has laid claim to being the oldest German Lutheran congregation in the United States. Its records date from the opening years of the eighteenth century,[80] when a frame structure served as the first church. A second church building was erected around 1727 and served until 1741. It had a bell and "seems also to have had an organ."[81] Nothing is known of such an instrument other than the possibility that it might have existed. The dedication of the fourth

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[78] Ibid., III, 557.

[79] Ibid., p. 596.

[80] See J. J. Kline, The Lutheran Church in New Hanover ("The Pennsylvania-German Society," Vol. XX; Lancaster: By the society, 1911), pp. 19-27.

[81] Ibid., p. 146.

New Hanover church structure occurred on November 6, 1768, with Muhlenberg officiating. A report of the service states that after the procession Muhlenberg began by reading Psalm 100, whereupon the choir sang "Komm heiliger Geist, Herre Gott." After each of the eleven ministers present had made a short statement, the congregation sang "Sey Lob und Ehr dem höchsten Gut." A baptismal service then followed.[82] Despite the fact that it was a rural congregation, this reference shows that the New Hanover church maintained a choir. The two hymns which are mentioned were favorites for dedication services, as we have already seen in previous accounts of similar services. As early as December, 1746, Muhlenberg writes that Jacob Loeser, schoolmaster at New Hanover, "has an exceptional talent for singing and an excellent memory."[83] This being true, perhaps it was Loeser who first developed good singing in the New Hanover congregation, though Muhlenberg himself undoubtedly devoted considerable attention to music.

On October 21, 1780, Muhlenberg reports that he assisted in auditioning a schoolmaster to see if his musical abilities met the requirements for the New Hanover church and parochial school. His remarks are of special interest because they indicate the type of informal, private "concerts" which musical amateurs of the time presented for their own enjoyment. "Toward evening I tested Mr. S[annow] in music. Mr. Ernst had set several hymns to melodies and I played the thorough bass on the

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[82] Ibid., p. 30.

[83] Tappert, I, 120.

spinet while Mr. S[annow] played the traverse flute in a pleasing and masterly way."[84] Ernst was J. F. Ernst, schoolmaster at New Hanover who later became a Lutheran pastor.

A third congregation in the Providence-New Hanover area existed at Pikestown, where the dedication of a new church on June 4, 1775, gave opportunity for a musical event which shows how the amateur singers of rural areas rose to such occasions. Muhlenberg's account reads:

> A neighboring schoolmaster had for some time been preparing to present a program of church music on this solemn occasion, and to this end he had been rehearsing with four men in four voices--bass, tenor, alto, and descant. They selected the words of the hymn, "Mein Gemüt erfreuet sich," etc. The men meant well and sang out of the fullness of their hearts. They sang in unison, without affectation, not with thin, falsetto voices, but with all the power of their bodies, and each one stuck to his octave without all the rippling variations of tierces, quarts, quints, sexts, and the like. The singers were as pleased as their auditors.[85]

In this account the word translated as "unison" probably means "together", since the context clearly shows that the quartet sang in harmony. Even more interesting, however, is the casual reference to contemporary performance practices. "Rippling variations" on the given notation must have been as much a part of American solo and ensemble singing as it was in Europe.

Churches in the Reading and Easton Areas

Trinity Lutheran Congregation in Reading erected their first house

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[84] Ibid., III, 364.

[85] Ibid., II, 695-696.

of worship in 1752, with the formal dedication occurring on Trinity Sunday the next spring. Conrad Weiser, the famous emissary to the Indians and Muhlenberg's father-in-law, composed a poem of thirteen stanzas for the occasion.[86] It is not certain whether this poem was sung at the dedication service, but in view of the custom at such events this was probably the case. Haussmann[87] prints a hymn by Weiser which fits the description of the one used at the Reading dedication, although he does not identify it as being this particular hymn. According to Haussmann it is an imitation of an older dedicatory song by H. von Assig (1650-1694) which begins, "Dreieiniger, heil'ger grosser Gott," and which it resembles in both content and form.

The Reading Lutherans were blessed with rapid growth and were soon in a position to purchase an organ. An old subscription book dated December 7, 1768, which is entered in the church records, announces the opening of gifts for this purpose.[88] Two hundred and six persons signed their names to support the purchase, and the contract was let to David Tannenberg in October, 1769. The organ's specifications were:

Manual

1. Principal 8'
2. Viola de gamba (metal) 8'
3. Gedact (wood) 8'
4. Flauto traver (wood) 8'

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[86] Gunnar Knudsen, "Trinity Lutheran Church," The Historical Review of Berks County, XVI (April, 1951), 67.

[87] William A. Haussmann, "German-American Hymnology," Americana Germanica, II, No. 3 (1898), 41.

[88] Church records for Trinity Lutheran Church, Reading. A microfilm copy is in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

5. Octave (metal) 4'
6. Sub-octave (metal) 2'
7. Fifth (metal) 3'
8. Gemshorn (metal) 4'
9. Mixture (metal) 3'
10. Coupler with pedals

Pedal

11. Sub-bass (wood) 16'
12. Octave (wood) 8'

According to the contract between the vestry and Tannenberg, the organ was to have two bellows and be completed by September 1, 1771. The price was £230.[89] In 1789 Tannenberg undertook extensive repairs on the organ: when a new church was built in 1794, the organ probably was moved to the west gallery in the new house of worship.[90]

Muhlenberg had an opportunity to hear this organ when he visited Reading in June, 1775, but his diary fails to give any description or evaluation of the instrument. However, under June 11, 1775, an entry reads: "The schoolmaster and organist--all in one person--had prepared some vocal and instrumental music which was rendered more artistically than that in Peikstown. . ."[91] The reference to Pikestown concerned the dedication service mentioned above which Muhlenberg had attended just one week earlier.

Before Tannenberg came to Reading to construct the organ for Trinity Church, he had just completed an instrument in nearby Maxatawney for the Lutheran church. The specifications are not known, but the Maxatawney church records for November 17, 1768, say that "many lovers of music came from Lancaster--a Lutheran and a Reformed

[89] Jacob Fry, The History of Trinity Lutheran Church, Reading, Pa. (Reading: By the congregation, 1894), pp. 45-46.

[90] Ibid., p. 125.

[91] Tappert, II, 698.

minister among them--to hear David Tanneberger's newly completed organ."[92]

Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg served as pastor of the Reading congregation in the years prior to the Revolution. Like his father, he kept a diary, though on a much smaller scale. An entry in his diary for December 5, 1770, contains a description of a funeral service for a member of the Tulpehocken congregation near Reading. Singing was a regular part of funeral ceremonies at that time; in the cities a choir was often present, but in rural areas the mourners had to provide the music themselves. Muhlenberg writes that he arrived at the house of mourning around 10:30 A.M. After the coffin was placed before the door, they sang "Wann mein Stündlein vorhanden ist," followed by a prayer. Thereupon the coffin was placed upon a wagon and the funeral procession made its way to the church. Upon reaching the graveyard, the mourners sang "Wer weiss, wie nahe mir mein Ende" as they marched slowly to the grave. Afterwards Muhlenberg delivered the funeral sermon in the church.[93] Like his father, Frederick Augustus was also a practicing musician. Under the same date as the description of the funeral he mentions that in the evening he engaged in "the usual exercise of singing and reading."[94] We also read on April 22, 1771, that while he was visiting his brother, John Peter Gabriel, in New

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[92]Paul E. Beck, "David Tanneberger, Organ Builder," Lancaster County Historical Society, XXX (January, 1926), 4.

[93]J. W. Early (trans.), "Diary of F. A. Muhlenberg (1770-1774)," Lutheran Church Review, XXIV (October, 1905), 563.

[94]Ibid.

Germantown (Oldwick), New Jersey, he played the organ for a funeral service at which his brother delivered the sermon.[95]

Just before and after the Revolution, organ building thrived throughout the German settlements stretching from Lancaster to Reading and eastward to the New Jersey border. St. John's Church, Easton, a union Lutheran and Reformed congregation, installed a Dannaker pipe organ shortly before the dedication of the church building on November 17, 1776. This instrument is now a relic in the museum of the Northampton County Historical Society.[96] Another Lutheran-Reformed congregation, Epler's church, a few miles northwest of Reading, received an organ built by John Jacob Dieffenbach shortly after the Revolution. Dieffenbach was a wheelwright who built organs as a hobby. The particular instrument used

[95] Ibid., XXV (January, 1906), 137. Frederick Augustus Conrad Muhlenberg was one of H. M. Muhlenberg's most illustrious sons. After serving as pastor at Reading he went to New York City, where he remained until the outbreak of the Revolution. At that time he entered politics and served as a member of both the Pennsylvania legislature and the Continental Congress. He presided over the Pennsylvania convention which ratified the United States Constitution, and later he became a member of Congress, being elected the first speaker of the House of Representatives.

Frederick's brother, Gotthilf Henry Ernest Muhlenberg, served as pastor at Lancaster from 1780-1815. He was an eminent botanist and a founder and the first president of Franklin and Marshall College. A second brother, John Peter Gabriel, was also a Lutheran pastor, serving in Virginia at the outbreak of the Revolution. He rose to become a major-general in Washington's army, and afterwards vice president of Pennsylvania (1785-1788). He, too, was a member of Congress, and Pennsylvania has chosen him to represent the state in Statuary Hall in the national Capitol.

[96] Preston A. Laury, The History of the Allentown Conference of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania (Kutztown: Kutztown Publishing Company, 1926), p. 129.

in Epler's Church is now owned by the Berks County Historical Society. It measures 9'6" high, 5'4" wide, and 2'6" deep; it contains 281 metal and wood pipes, and has a single keyboard of four octaves with six stops.[97] Still a third instrument, this time in Lehigh County, was dedicated in the union Lutheran-Reformed church at Egypt on June 6, 1786. This was another of Tannenberg's organs and cost £145 or $386.67. In addition to this amount Tannenberg's son, Samuel, received three pounds--"das gewöhnliche Trinkgeld"--and along with other expenses involved in the installation the total cost thus came to £154.2.9 or $411.04. This organ served the Egypt congregation for eighty-four years, a fine tribute to Tannenberg's skill.[98]

New Jersey Churches

Although the Lutheran settlements in New Jersey were originally part of the New York Ministerium, the Pennsylvania Ministerium gradually gained control of the various congregations. This change of control was not so much due to the wishes of Muhlenberg as to the fact that the New York Ministerium was unable to provide for its own needs, and the congregations of necessity had to turn to Pennsylvania for help. Muhlenberg's diary for July 21, 1751, clearly mirrors this situation when he discusses the condition of the congregation at Hackensack, which was without a pastor

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[97] Gurney W. Clemens, "The Dieffenbach Organ," The Historical Review of Berks County, XI (October, 1945), 19-21.

[98] J. D. Schindel, "The Egypt Church," Proceedings and Papers Read before the Lehigh County Historical Society, I (1908), 130.

in addition to being split by internal strife:

> Some of them still stick together, go to the church on Sundays, and read a sermon, but the singing has gone wholly to ruin. They are not able to sing even the best-known hymns, and the miserable and lamentable noise they make sounds more like a confused quarrel than a melody. In the afternoon the church was too small and large numbers had to stand outside around the doors and windows. I preached in English on the Prodigal Son, Luke 15, and we sang "Jesu, deine tiefe Wunden," from our English hymn book [Psalmodia Germanica]. The hymn and melody were unknown, so I read each verse aloud and sang it for them. Several women with soft, melodious voices joined in and made a pleasing harmony which quite enraptured the people. Never in my life did I see such attentive listeners![99]

The Hackensack church never really prospered as did some of the congregations in central New Jersey. By 1800 the congregation was on the verge of extinction, and one day in 1812 a careless farmer who was burning brush allowed the flames to get out of control and destroy the church building. Having no pastor and not wishing to rebuild, the remaining members dissipated to other churches.[100]

The Lutheran settlements in central New Jersey centered in the Raritan valley around the present locations of Oldwick and Bedminster. In 1750 four small congregations along the Raritan united to form Zion Church at new Germantown (Oldwick), Hunterdon County. Zion congregation was able to dedicate a new church on December 2, 1750. This structure had two galleries, of which the eastern one contained a pipe organ which was played at the dedication and which remained in the church for over a century. This organ, which in all probability was imported from Europe,

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[99]Tappert, I, 297.

[100]Alfred Hiller, "History of the Lutheran Church in New Jersey," The Lutheran Quarterly, XXVIII (January, 1898), 109.

was the gift of a Mr. Baltus Pickel.[101]

Muhlenberg's diary for June 24, 1759, mentions that Jacob Klein, an elder in Zion Church, New Germantown, was also an organist;[102] thus one may assume that he often played for the congregation. Later the same year, on December 11, Muhlenberg mentions that another organist, Mr. Seysen, visited him while he was in New Germantown,[103] so it appears that there was no shortage of organists in the Raritan valley. As stated earlier, Muhlenberg himself would often play the organ, and on September 17, 1759, he writes: "I was obliged to drive with my wife's relatives to the church [Zion] to show and play the organ for them, as they had seen little or nothing of such things in their whole life."[104] Like most musicians, the organist at Zion probably was never overburdened with wealth, for the church records as late as 1789 indicate that his salary was nine pounds a year.[105]

St. Paul's Church in nearby Bedminster also owned an organ before the Revolution. Muhlenberg's diary for June 24, 1770, says that "after the service several neighboring English gentlefolk requested us to sing one of our edifying hymns to the accompaniment of the organ, and this was done,

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[101] Ibid., (April, 1898), p. 165. See also John C. Honeyman, "Zion, St. Paul and Other Early Lutheran Churches in Central New Jersey," Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society, X (October, 1925), 405.

[102] Tappert, I, 394.

[103] Ibid., p. 423.

[104] Ibid., p. 414.

[105] Honeyman, Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society, XV (April, 1930), 254.

much to their pleasure."[106] Apparently the congregation had a reputation for good singing; otherwise the visitors would not have asked to hear another hymn after the service was over. Muhlenberg mentions another example of singing hymns in the church after the service in his diary for November 25, 1759: "Preached in [New] Germantown on Matthew 9 . . . Afterwards we played a number of Halle hymns on the organ at the request of several elders."[107]

Like the other rural churches around Philadelphia, Lancaster, and Reading, the New Jersey churches were not in a position to make any really striking contributions to the development of American Lutheran musical practices. They had neither the trained musicians nor the resources available to the Philadelphia congregation, and, to a lesser degree, to the congregations in Lancaster, York, Reading, and New York City. Yet it is certainly important to consider the position of music in these smaller churches, since they reflect the "grass roots" attitude of eighteenth-century Lutherans toward music. We have examined enough cases to show that even the smaller congregations strived to have good singing and an organ to support their worship. Music was a natural and an accepted part of their church life, unlike the situation in New England where Puritan influences relegated music to a relatively minor role in worship services, and virtually banned it entirely from secular life.

As one looks over the names of concert promoters, performers,

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[106] Tappert, II, 447.

[107] Ibid., I, 421.

and professional music teachers who began to appear in and around Philadelphia and New York during the later eighteenth century, it is impossible to miss the many German names. Would it have been possible for these professional musicians to obtain an audience if a large percentage of the population did not recognize the value of music? The thousands of German Lutherans who settled in southeastern Pennsylvania undoubtedly aided in creating a climate in which music could prosper. Though the small rural churches may not be able to point to outstanding individual musical developments, when taken collectively their influence becomes a factor which one can not neglect in any study of American music. Moreover, because they played an active role in the society of the time, the Lutheran congregations were able to exert greater influence upon American life than was true of German sects who led a relatively cloistered existence in which they may have developed a high level of musical culture, but with little effect upon musical life outside their own particular community.

The 1748 Liturgy

Eighteenth-century Germany was divided into scores of little principalities, each ruled by its own elector or duke. These virtually autonomous states had their own laws and often their own order of worship for the Evangelical churches within their particular domain. Although certain basic outlines of the Lutheran liturgy remained the same throughout all these various states, each governmental entity tended to have its own peculiarities and variations. When German Lutherans emigrated from the Old World to America, they naturally brought with them the hymnals, liturgy, and customs

which they had followed in their particular area of Germany. Consequently, during Muhlenberg's first years in Pennsylvania, he realized that if an American Lutheran church were to be firmly planted, there must be some unity in liturgical practices and church regulations which would erase the multitude of variations inherited from the Old World, and at the same time be better suited for the needs of the American churches. In order to achieve this end, the first meeting of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania in 1748 drew up a liturgy to which all members of the ministerium were bound.

Even before the ministerium officially adopted the 1748 liturgy, Muhlenberg was striving to achieve some degree of uniformity in worship among the various churches. This is shown by a letter dated April 2, 1747, which he wrote to John Helfrich Schaum, a catechist training for the ministry who was in charge of the Raritan Valley churches in New Jersey. Muhlenberg writes:

> Observe unalterably the following method in the discharge of the official duties:
>
> a. In public worship, begin with our usual Confession. Take nothing from it, add nothing thereto.
>
> b. Let the congregation then sing: -- Allein Gott in der Höh'; or, Nun bitten wir den Heil'gen Geist.
>
> c. Offer up the petition: Schaff' in uns Gott ein reines Herz, or some other short scriptural prayer; afterwards read the Epistle.
>
> d. Give out the principal hymn, selecting such as are well known, and tunes with which the congregation are familiar, otherwise confusion will arise.
>
> e. Read the Gospel, and repeat the Creed without explanation.
>
> f. The congregation then can sing: --Liebster Jesu sq., or Herr Jesu Christ dich zu sq. During the singing of the hymn, go upon the pulpit. . .[108]

The letter concludes with various instructions concerning the nature of the sermon, the reading of the Litany after the sermon, and the conduct of

[108]"Pastoral Letter," The Evangelical Review, VII (April, 1856), 545-546.

catechetical instruction for the children after the close of the service proper.

In addition to the places for hymns during the course of the service which this letter specifically mentions, it was also probable that opening and closing hymns were a part of the worship. "Allein Gott in der Höh" is, of course, a vernacular paraphrase of the Gloria, while the optional "Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist" would serve as an invocation of the Holy Spirit, if the pastor thought that this would be more suitable. The principal hymn was selected so as to correspond with the Gospel and the theme of the sermon, thus making it a portion of the proper, while the singing of "Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier" or "Herr Jesu Christ, dich zu uns wend" served as a type of congregational response as the minister ascended the pulpit.

The 1748 liturgy is actually a composite of many influences and bears relationships to several of the more important German liturgies. Despite the presence of the Swedish Lutheran Church in Philadelphia, the Germans were little influenced by their Swedish brethren, apparently because they considered the Swedes too "high church." Muhlenberg writes:

> To adopt the Swedish liturgy did not appear either suitable or necessary since most of our congregations came from the districts on the Rhine and the Main and considered the singing of collects to be papistical. Nor yet could we select a liturgy with regard to every individual's accustomed use, since almost every country town and village had its own. We therefore took the liturgy of the Savoy Church in London as the basis. . . [109]

While Muhlenberg says that Reverends Brunnholtz, Handschuh, and he used the Savoy liturgy as a model, the actual order of worship is more

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[109] Tappert, I, 193.

closely related to the liturgies of Lüneberg (1643), Calenberg (1569), Brandenburg-Magdeburg (1739), and Saxony (1712), as shown by a collation prepared by Beale M. Schumucker.[110]

The 1748 liturgy was never printed, but circulated among the pastors in manuscript copies. Two of these copies survive today. The earlier version has the complete rubrics and was made in 1763 by Jacob van Buskirk,[111] while Peter Muhlenberg made a copy without rubrics in 1769 when he became pastor at New Germantown. Modern reprints of the 1748 liturgy as taken from these sources are readily available.[112] Van Buskirk's copy gives the following order of worship for a Sunday service: (1) Sing either the entire hymn or several verses from "Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist," or a verse from "Komm heiliger Geist, Herre Gott" to open the service. (2) The pastor leads the congregation in public confession. (3) Sing "Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr." (4) During the singing of the last verse the pastor goes to the altar, gives the Salutation, followed by the congregational response, and reads the Collect for the day as found in the Marburg hymnbook. After the Collect he reads the proper Epistle. (5) Principal hymn, selected from the Marburg hymnbook. It should be familiar to the entire congregation; either the whole hymn or only a portion may be sung, depending upon the circumstances. (6) The pastor reads the Gospel,

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[110] Beale M. Schumucker, "The First Pennsylvania Liturgy," Lutheran Church Review, I (July, 1882), 162-172.

[111] Microfilm No. 41 in the Concordia Historical Institute.

[112] Including Mann, I, 211-216; Jacobs, pp. 269-275; Spaeth, pp. 13-18; Lars P. Qualben, The Lutheran Church in Colonial America (New York: Thomas Nelson, 1940), appendix III.

followed by recitation of the Creed in verse. (7) Before the sermon the congregation sings either "Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier" or "Herr Jesu Christ, dich zu uns wend," either entire or in part. (8) The pastor delivers the sermon. (9) The congregation sings the final hymn, followed by a short closing prayer and the Benediction. An appropriate closing verse is sung after the Benediction. During afternoon services the congregation sings "Ach bleib bei uns, Herr Jesu Christ" after the sermon. For communion the order of communion begins immediately after the sermon.

All congregations associated with the Ministerium of Pennsylvania agreed to abide by this order of worship. At the 1748 convention the elders from the various churches testified that their respective congregations were well satisfied to use the same ceremonies. The only objection which they raised was that the service lasted too long in very cold weather[113] -- a point of obvious importance in unheated churches. This liturgy remained in use until the introduction of a similar order of worship published in 1786, and which we shall consider in the next chapter. Chapter vi, article 3 of the constitution of the ministerium, which was ratified at the 1781 meeting, still bound all members of the ministerium to use the 1748 liturgy.[114]

In addition to regular Sunday worship and the service of communion, the 1748 liturgy included orders for special services such as funerals, baptism, and confession. Hymn singing was an integral part of all these services, especially for funerals, which follow the order given below (cf.

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[113] Spaeth, p. 11.

[114] Ibid., p. 175.

the description of the funeral in F.A. Muhlenberg's diary while he was pastor at Reading; mentioned above, page 132): (1) The preacher visits the mourners in the house of the deceased so as to comfort them. (2) The coffin is placed before the door of the house, whereupon a couple verses are sung. (3) The pastor delivers an appropriate prayer. (4) The mourners process to the grave, but first stop in the church for the service. (5) After appropriate singing the pastor delivers the funeral address, if one is desired; then he reads selected paragraphs from the liturgy which concern death and burial. (6) A couple more verses are sung, and during the singing of the last stanza the mourners leave the church and gather about the grave. (7) The corpse is lowered into the grave as the mourners sing, "Weil du vom Tod erstanden bist."[115] (8) The pastor reads various statements and passages from Scripture. (9) As the grave is closed either the first two or last two verses of "Nun lasst uns den Leib begraben" are sung.[116]

The Halle and the Marburg Hymnals

Like the other Lutheran settlements which we have considered, the Pennsylvania Lutherans imported many hymnals from Europe. The two in most common use were the Halle hymnal edited by Freylinghausen and the Marburg hymnbook. Other collections included the Psalmodia Germanica

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[115] This is the fourth verse from the hymn, "Wann mein Stündlein vorhanden ist."

[116] The order for funerals begins on p. 65 of Van Buskirk's manuscript copy of the 1745 liturgy.

for English worship, and the Wernigerode, Württemberg, and Cöthen hymnbooks. During the spring of 1749 Muhlenberg wrote that he had received a small chest from London containing Bibles and hymnbooks for distribution to the United Congregations (Philadelphia, Providence, and New Hanover).[117] Although Muhlenberg does not say what hymnals were included in this shipment, they were in all probability copies of the Halle hymnbook, since Muhlenberg had a definite preference for this collection because of his association with the Halle authorities. An entry in his diary for February 23, 1773, mentions receiving a shipment of more than a hundred copies of the Halle hymnal, including some with notes.[118]

Perhaps a copy of the Halle hymnal which is now in the library of the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Gettysburg dates from this shipment of 1773. It is an edition of 1771, and on the title page the name "Henry Muhlenberg" appears at the top. An inscription in the middle of the page reads, "presented by H. H. Muhlenberg," and on the inside of the front cover there is a notation, "Library of Pennsylvania College No. 2609." All the hymns have a designated tune and many have their proper melody and figured bass as well. This book is a later edition of the 1741 Geistreiches Gesang-Buch,[119] which is in turn a combination of the two parts of

[117] Mann, I, 492.

[118] Tappert, II, 534-535.

[119] Johann Anastasii Freylinghausen (ed.), Geistreiches Gesang-Buch, den Kern alter und neuer Lieder in sich haltend: jetzo von neuen so eingerichtet, dass alle Gesänge so in den vorhin unter diesem Namen alhier herausgekommenen Gesangbüchern befindlich, unter ihre Rubriquen zusammengebracht, auch die Noten aller alten und neuen Melodeyen beygefüget worden, und mit einem Vorbericht herausgegeben von Gotthilf August Francken (Halle: Verlegung des Wäysenhauses, 1741).

Freylinghausen's Halle hymnbook which appeared in 1704 and 1714, respectively. Gotthilf August Francke edited the 1741 edition, and also provided it with a new preface. The Halle hymnal had a very influential position in both American and German Lutheran churches during the eighteenth century.

Although some copies of the Halle hymnal contained melodies and figured basses, a church organist had to supplement these tunes by using one of the standard chorale books which were printed separately to provide music for the hymnals. Two such chorale books which apparently were used by American Lutheran organists of the time survive in the library of the Lutheran seminary at Mt. Airy, Philadelphia. One is Johann Balthasar König's Harmonischer Lieder-Schatz oder allgemeines Evangelisches Choral-Buch ("Harmonized Treasury of Hymns, or General Evangelical Chorale Book"),[120] a huge volume of over five hundred pages containing hundreds of chorales and psalms with their appropriate melodies and figured basses. There is also a long and detailed "Register" which directs the organist to the proper tunes suitable for virtually all the chorales which were in use during the eighteenth century. The signature of A. T. Geissenhainer appears in the front of this particular volume.

The second chorale book, by Johann Georg Christian Störls, has a somewhat longer title which reads:

> Neu-bezogenes Davidisches Harpfen- und Psalter-Spiel, oder neu-aufgesetztes vollständiges, nach der genauesten und

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[120](Franckfurt: By the author, 1738).

reinesten Sing- und Schlag-Kunst eingerichtetes Schlag-Gesang- und Noten-Buch ("Newly Strung David's Harp and Psalter, or Newly Arranged, Complete Song and Music Book Prepared According to the Most Authentic and Most Pure Manner of Singing and Playing").[121]

It was arranged especially for the Württemberg hymnal, but was equally suited for most standard Lutheran hymnbooks. It contains 399 tunes with figured bass. Like the other chorale book in the Mt. Airy library, the name of A. T. Geissenhainer appears in the front.

In addition to printed chorale books like these, many organists either from preference or necessity compiled their own manuscript collections of music. One such example, also in the seminary library at Mt. Airy, is a manuscript chorale book written by John Henry Goettel. According to a note in the front of the volume, Goettel came to Pennsylvania from Germany in 1785 and was organist in St. Michael's Church, Berks County (west of Hamburg). Family tradition says that he was an organist in Germany before coming to this country. The inside cover and fly leaves contain the dates 1757, 1759, and 1760, along with various doodles and remarks by Goettel and members of his family. It contains 118 pages of music, giving the melodies and figured basses to about 250 chorales; some tunes have more than one setting. Martin L. Wagner, a great-great grandson of Goettel, gave the book to the seminary library. A similar book on a much smaller scale exists in the archives of Holy Trinity Church, Lancaster. Like the Goettel volume, this book contains melodies with figured bass, beginning

[121] Ed. Johann Georg Stötzel (Stuttgardt: Johann Benedict Metzler, 1744).

with the chorale, "Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ."[122]

The Mt. Airy collection contains still another manuscript chorale book, this one intended for school use by a student rather than for an organist. The title page, brilliantly decorated in red, yellow, blue, and green in the stylized floral designs typical of Pennsylvania-German manuscript illuminations, reads:

> "Harmonisches melodeÿen Buchlein uber die bekanteste Lieder im Marburger Gesang Buch verfertiget vor Maria Walter sing Schüller in der Neu Brittener Schul geschrieben den 24te Juni, 1783" ("Harmonious Little Melody Book Containing the Best-Known Hymns in the Marburg Hymnbook, Compiled for Maria Walter, Singing Student in the New Britain School; Written on June 24, 1783").[123]

The book has twenty-eight pages containing ninety-eight chorale tunes notated without rhythm, i.e. the melodies are written only in whole notes. It was undoubtedly intended as an aid to learning the hymn tunes in school; surely many such books must have existed during the second half of the eighteenth century.

While the Halle hymnal had a wide popularity and great influence upon the Pennsylvania Lutherans, it never attained an American edition, as did the Marburg hymnbook. Christopher Saur first published an edition of the Marburg hymnbook on his Germantown press in 1757, with subsequent printings in 1759, 1762, 1770, 1774, 1777, and a pocket edition printed by

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[122]The writer was unable to examine this book (except for the first number) at the time he was in Lancaster, since it was involved in a special display of material from the church archives. Subsequent inquiries to the church by letter have not received an answer.

[123]Perhaps this refers to New Britain Township in Bucks County.

Carl Cist of Philadelphia in 1799.[124] The Marburg hymnal was widely used in Lutheran churches in America, and may be said to have been the unofficial hymnbook of the Pennsylvania churches. One must be careful not to confuse this hymnal with the Marburg Reformed hymnbook which Saur also published, printing editions in 1753, 1763, and 1772. The full title of Saur's reprint of the Lutheran hymnal reads:

> Vollständiges Marburger Gesang-Buch, zur Uebung der Gottseligkeit, in 649 Christlichen und trostreichen Psalmen und Gesängen Hrn. D. Martin Luthers und anderer gottseliger Lehrer, ordentlich in XII. Theile verfasset, und mit nöthigen Registern auch einer Verzeichniss versehen unter welche Titul die im Anhang befindliche Lieder gehörig: auch zur Beförderung des so Kirchen-als Privat-Gottes-dienstes, mit erbaulichen Morgen-Abend-Buss-Beicht- und Communion-Gebatlein vermehret ("Complete Marburg Hymnbook, for the Practice of Godliness, Comprising 649 Christian and Richly Comforting Psalms and Hymns of Dr. Martin Luther and Other Pious Teachers, Orderly Arranged in XII Parts, and Provided with Necessary Indices and Also a Guide to the Titles Belonging to Hymns Which Occur in the Supplement; Also Augmented by Edifying Morning, Evening, Penitential, Confessional, and Communion Prayers for the Furtherance of Church as well as Private Worship").[125]

Saur's reprint contains 615 hymns (429 hymns in the main body of the book followed by a "Neuer Anhang" of 186 hymns). According to Dubbs, these hymns are identical to the European edition of 1716 except that the Latin stanzas of "Puer natus in Bethlehem" are omitted and a "Neuester Anhang" of 34 hymns is added to the original number, making a total of 649 hymns in

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[124] William J. Hinke, "Lutheran and Reformed Church Hymnody in Early Pennsylvania," Church Music and Musical Life in Pennsylvania in the Eighteenth Century (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Society of the Colonial Dames of America, 1926-1947), III, 272-273.

[125] Germanton: Christoph Saur, 1759). Evans 8390; also in MCAL, reel 22.

the entire collection.[126] There is an extensive guide immediately after the title page which arranges the hymns according to the church year so as to coincide with the Epistle and the Gospel for the day. This guide also includes a topical classification, e.g. "Morning Hymns," "Funeral and Burial Hymns," etc. An alphabetical table of contents occurs in the back of the book after the second supplement or "Neuester Anhang." The back of the hymnal contains prayers for various occasions, the small catechism, the Gospels and Epistles for all Sundays and feast days, and an account of the destruction of Jerusalem. The Gospels and Epistles are prefaced by a separate title page dated 1760. There is no musical notation anywhere in the hymnal. When a hymn has its own melody, no tune is designated; at other times the tune is given at the beginning.

The American edition of the Marburg hymnal (supplemented with imported copies of the Halle collection) remained the standard Lutheran hymnbook in America from around 1760 until the publication of the Erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung in 1786. Muhlenberg's diaries do not distinguish between the American and the German editions since no such distinction was really necessary. However, an entry in his diary for May 31, 1762, reads: "Rode toward evening to young Saur's, the printer, paid him in full for hymnals and three years' newspaper. . ."[127] This is probably a reference to purchasing some Marburg hymnals from Saur,

[126] J. H. Dubbs, Early German Hymnology of Pennsylvania. This pamphlet is an offprint from an article in the Reformed Quarterly Review for 1882.

[127] Tappert, I, 522.

who also published a German newspaper.

Other Hymn Collections before 1786

In 1756 the Swedish pastor Acrelius joined with the Germans Handschuh and Brunnholtz to issue a memorial publication for Matthias Heinzelman, whose funeral was on February 12, 1756. This pamphlet, entitled Der Todt als eine Seligkeit für diejenige, die in dem Herrn sterben ("Death as a Blessing for Those Who Die in the Lord"),[128] also contains a few verses from different hymns. These are not original texts, but are stanzas taken from the standard German chorales. Brunnholtz relates that on February 9, at Heinzelman's request, he brought six children from the school to the death bed, where they sang the verses which the pamphlet includes on pages 27 to 31. These comprise: "Ich bin ja Herr! in deiner Macht," "Meine Liebe lebet noch," "Dein Will, O Gott! sei meines Willens Will," "Du meiner Augen Licht," "So bin ich nun nicht mehr ein fremder Gast," "Ist Gott für mich," and "Flügel, Flügel, Flügel her." Although this publication was not intended to serve as an actual hymnbook, it is of interest to notice some of the hymns which the children were learning in school at the time.

John Christopher Kunze's Einige Gedichte und Lieder[129] is a collection of an entirely different sort. It consists of thirteen poems and thirty-one hymns or sacred songs with original texts by Kunze. Like most hymn collections of this time, no actual music appears in the volume itself,

[128](Philadelphia: Benjamin Francklin and Anton Armbruster, 1756). Evans 7604; MCAL reel 21.

[129](Philadelphia: n.p., 1778). Evans 15860.

although most of the hymns refer to a melody which fits the text. The book contains a total of 132 pages of poetry and hymn texts. In the back one finds several doxologies and some poems called "arias" along with other short poetic selections.

A long and rather elaborate preface is of special interest because it contains a discussion of the origin and purpose of church music which throws considerable light upon Kunze's attitude towards music, which undoubtedly was indicative of Lutheran thinking at the time. It also shows a strong influence from the esthetic theories of the eighteenth-century French rationalists. After first paying tribute to the Swedish Lutheran missionary work in America, the preface reads as follows:[130]

> I believe that religious poetry may be considered among the best means of furthering faith and Christianity. In my opinion poetry, yetmore than music, has something compelling and inspiring within itself. If one sets it simply, as it should be, to a most worthy setting which can be sung, then it undoubtedly has a doubled stimulus for the soul--a stimulus which God recognizes and which provides something absorbing and enticing for those who are still distant enemies of God.
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> . . . . . .
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> Kramer correctly writes, "At the time of their origin poetry and music were inseparable companions. The different types of poetic meter appear to be daughters of music, which poetry has reared." Therefore, I also believe that the people of God assigned music to no other purpose than to worshipful use. Erred they in the proper choice of worship, then they also erred in using music--however, only in proportion to the amount of that error. Sacred dances or processions were associated with music, since husbands, wives, young men, and young women[131] danced together in closed ranks following the beat of the music, and thus gave recognition to their witness of joy or mourning before Jehovah. Because they also leaped into the air along with other movements, according to certain signs

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[130] The original German text for this translation appears in Appendix C.

[131] Here a footnote cites Zech. 12:11-14, Judg. 21:19, and II Sam. 6:14.

which were given in the music--perhaps these signs often occurred upon occasions of joy, these processions have the Hebrew name Rakad, which, I believe, Dr. Luther certainly would have preferred to translate as "in die höhe springen" than as "tanzen"; all the more so had he foreseen the misuse of this expression as a means of justifying wanton, secular dancing. The dances of the Gentiles, like their other practices of worship, were only an imitation of the true religious dance, and gradually degenerated. The type which the daughter of Herodia danced was presumably not of the Indian but of the Greek sort, and hence it is truly apparent that the Gentiles no longer mixed much religion with their dancing. These one-time religious rites quite soon were separated from religion by that part of the world which forsook God, and were used for outright voluptuousness and pleasure. According to Moses' account, Jubal was a father of musicians. I do not believe that this expression ascribes the discovery of music to Jubal, anymore than it is ascribed to Jabal, his brother, that he gathered together the first cattle. At the time of Noah there were two distinct groups of men which were set apart by their godlessness. The one consisted of city dwellers and the other of farming people. Perhaps Jubal resided at Hanoch or otherwise in a city, and it happened that in the area where he lived there were no religious rites. Yet his children from the other region, where one observed religious ceremonies, introduced the use of music and, perhaps, also of processions, but the music was blatantly associated only with either mockery or wantonness and amusement. Perhaps, likewise, both regions were united under one ruler, and because it was the time when men who still held worship no longer took it seriously, and because it was at the time of the birth of Enos, when worship very soon again received its rightful position in society, the scandal originating thereby could become so great that Jubal, being especially singled out shortly before the story of the Deluge, could so be interpreted as to be the father of string players and pipers. If the first world already engaged in war, then, perhaps, Thubalkain had a special reason for inventing death-dealing tools, and, who knows whereby the herdsmen who were Jabal's children became notorious, or, also, what made a Raemi honored? This may always remain unsolved; yet I do not believe that one may conclude from the musical gatherings in Jubal's household, from which all such gatherings of amusement thereafter appear to be named, that the godly purpose of music is anything other than religious circumstances require, or that the origin of music is to be sought anywhere else than in rites of worship. Undoubtedly the idea thereby was that human tongues are too weak to express the feelings of the need for praise which dwells in devout souls. They raised the sound of their voices and gave vent to their emotions through appropriate bodily movements, and

they recognized their unity in praising God by means of such communication with one another, as, moreover, is customary among men in other things.

I believe that at the time of their origin, before the era of their misuse, poetry and music were inseparable companions. It stands to reason not only that poems at that time were set to music in an orderly manner, but also that one did not hear any music unless a text was set to it. Music is and remains somewhat godly, but how much its value sinks for me if I can not meditate upon anything while listening to it! Orpheus might have moved entire forests by means of his lyre alone; I am not so perceptive. Ordinary Antiquity, however, prefers to leave naturally united things undivided; thus I propose to examine what it actually was that called Saul back from his melancholy, and incited Elisha to be able to receive godly inspirations. Undoubtedly David sang sacred arias along with his playing, or at least he played such pieces whose texts Saul could remember. Are we not recalled to our senses through reason instead of wonder, or it would thereby be illogical that we seek more in the effect than lies in the cause. Thus, I think we must seek the basis of Saul's continuously ensuing improvement in edification and spiritual delight. Whoever knows man's heart will not consider the confused and ungodly condition of Saul's soul to be an objection. The righteous who again become godless turn away step by step, not all at once. Through the striving grace of God that preserves his own, the sweetest experiences of edification often occur at the time that one is in the process of falling away, when one quite clearly finds himself outside the hour of grace. Indeed, even the man who again has completely died away from God can not in his whole life become totally callous to certain impressions, which imprinted themselves especially strongly upon his soul at the time of his conversion. Even if the exercise of piousness eventually becomes a complete abhorrence, nevertheless he still always maintains a fond intercourse with things which first incited his conversion. The situation is still more apparent in the example of Elisha.[132] The kings of Israel, Judah, and Edom were moving against Moab and were riding along under a shortage of water. Israel's king complained; however, the pious sought after the word of God. One found Elisha, whose honestness Josaphat recognized. Elisha asserted that he would only gratify the desire of Josaphat's will and not care about the Lord. However, he desired to hear a musician, and under the influence of this music he resolved to hear the godly voice. Magic had nothing to do with it. But what did the music

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[132] A footnote cites II Kings 3:15.

of the lyre effect? I think that Elisha first placed his heart within a holy frame of mind. A man whose godly achievements on life's pathway set him apart, above the changeableness of things, becomes all the more able to have it within his power to channel himself into such a frame of mind if he will take the time and use the means to do so. I do not at all thereby associate myself with any Pelagian ideas. I only understand something similar to Paul's expression.[133] The prophets' hearts were subject to themselves. God must accomplish our edification, but he is more ready to do it when we give him the opportunity. To be sure, the prophets were consecrated to higher things, but in order that they would not become too overbearing in such a rarified atmosphere, they received their share of many weaknesses of the flesh. In part their communion with God must appear similar to the general behavior of poor sinners contrasted with the glorious, endless majesty. Sincere, moral, obedient belief, struggle, wringing one's hands, and lamentation were all the same with them, though God declared them to be his entrusted ones and glorified them by bestowing his presence upon them. Elisha wanted to question the Lord's will on this occasion; this he could not do without putting himself in most fervent prayer, in order to be able to pray with proper support and having put up a good fight. We begin our public worship with singing because we know that this most easily kindles devotion, even though prayer and teaching afterwards give a more basic and longer lasting flame of devotion. It is certain that singing and music form the best groundwork for the devotion which one later builds thereon, for God is the creator of this arrangement.[134] In the New Testament Christ's spirit likewise recommends this method of furthering devotion,[135] although one must remember that the heart must be withal, and that one must consider what he is singing and playing. Therefore, I can not but think that the musician in the story of Elisha played and sang a few sacred songs, from which the inner fervor of Elisha himself proceeded to prayer. The writer would have had to have presented his account in more detail as to what the musician had to do if the union between music and sacred poetry had been subjugated so much to profane dissolution, as in modern times. However, one understands that "to play on a stringed instrument" means the same as "to perform a sacred hymn."

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[133] A footnote cites I Cor. 14:32.

[134] A footnote cites II Chron. 29:25.

[135] A footnote cites Eph. 5:19 and Col. 3:16.

It is true that the union of poetry and music just mentioned, at the same time also embraces something about which we can properly make a distinction. The ancients wrote involved poems, except such which were to be schirim, carmina, or songs, and therefore should be sung and played. However, already at that time the true essence of poetic art--inspiration--shifted the order and euphony to a similar union of different things which generate thought and, likewise, feeling. Thus one rather can tolerate poetry without music than music without poetry. However, what I most especially would say about all these things more concerns the union of music and poetry with religious material, than their union with one another. Thoughtful and understanding hearts do not seek music and poetry purely for pleasure, and that, I think, should be the only customary approach among Christians.

. . . . . .

The English do not have the wealth of hymn repertoire which we possess. Only now are they beginning to write hymns. However, those they have and use contain true poetry. I own five English hymnals, and almost nowhere find a hymn in them that has been written from nothing more than measured syllables and rime, as many new writers now prefer to do; nor do I find hymns where this element lacks accuracy. I wish very much that someone would write a few such German hymns after the example of Mr. D. Watts' hymnbook, or the songs in a Collection of Psalms and Hymns from Various Authors (London: 1774). One does not find here any hymn that everyone would not understand, and yet every line is distinguished as a model of poetry. Should God preserve my life and place me in circumstances which would entail more time for peace and quiet than I now have, I would myself devote some time and effort to such a project.

. . . . . .

The average man must understand what he sings; however, the idea that such a man has slight potential is, I believe, somewhat incorrect. Even with completely ordinary instruction our brethren in the faith also grow able to comprehend some things by and by, if one would more often take them in hand. I believe that I have already often observed whether or not the peasant folk have a preacher who, with a good heart, combines good understanding and taste as well.

. . . . . .

Poetry set to music has the strongest attraction in the world. In modern times music does not belong to the sphere of scholars or of teachers, [but to everyone].

It is apparent that Kunze does not believe in music for its own sake; rather, he sees it as the handmaid of theology. He probably goes to this length in trying to explain the divine origin of music as an answer to Quaker and Calvinist groups which criticized the manner in which the Lutherans used music during worship services.

Kunze sent Muhlenberg a copy of his book, and in his diary for May 4, 1778, Muhlenberg expresses his approval of this extended foreword. He writes:

> I have always felt that there was something divine in the art of music, but had only concrete, vague notions concerning it; I am therefore the more pleased to see such a well-grounded discussion of the subject expressed in abstract, elucidated ideas wherein the divine element in the art of poetry and music is lifted up. . .[136]

Of course, Muhlenberg did not have to be converted to the practical use of music in propagating the faith. As a performing musician he naturally understood the power of music in this respect. Over thirty years earlier, when he was discussing the problem of converting the Indians with Conrad Weiser, his father-in-law, Weiser had observed that the Indians were accumstomed to have old bards sing or intone "their histories of times of war and peace, covenants and treaties." In order to use music effectively, both Muhlenberg and Weiser felt that Christian missionaries "would have to learn the Indian melodies and tones and propagate the Law and the Gospel with these tones so that it would make an impression. . ."[137]

Three years after Kunze published his collection of poems and

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[136] Tappert, III, 148.

[137] Ibid., I, 168.

hymns, Justus Henry Christian Helmuth prepared a similar book entitled Empfindungen des Herzens in einigen Lieder ("Feelings of the Heart, in a Few Hymns"),[138] which we shall discuss along with other publications by Helmuth in the following chapter. Even more than Muhlenberg or Kunze, Helmuth was intensely aware of the utilitarian use of music in furthering the Christian Gospel, and it was in keeping with this concept of music as the handmaid of theology that he encouraged its development and helped to make the Lutheran congregation in Philadelphia one of the city's most prominent centers of music during the closing decade of the eighteenth century.

The 1786 Hymnal and Liturgy

Muhlenberg's most important single contribution to the development of Lutheran church music in America was undoubtedly his work on the 1786 hymnal and liturgy. After the colonies had successfully obtained their independence, it was only natural that the Lutheran churches, too, should wish to assert their ability of standing on their own feet and no longer look to Europe for guidance. At the thirty-fifth annual meeting of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania held in Lancaster on June 3 and 4, 1782, the pastors and delegates therefore resolved to have the ministerial order and the common church Agende printed, the latter remaining as it had been except that the formula of confirmation as introduced in Württemberg was to be added. They also appointed a committee consisting of the Reverends H. M.

[138] (Philadelphia: Melchior Steiner, 1781). Evans 17186.

Muhlenberg, G. H. E. Muhlenberg, J. C. Kunze, and J. H. C. Helmuth to arrange for the publication of a new hymnbook. This committee was to abide by several rules: (1) to follow the arrangement of the Halle (Freylinghausen) hymnbook as far as possible; (2) not to omit any of the old standard hymns, especially of Luther and Paul Gerhardt; (3) to omit the Gospels and Epistles for apostles' days, minor festivals, and also to omit the history of the destruction of Jerusalem, prayers, and the catechism; (4) to report any changes to the synod; and (5) to limit the number of hymns to 750.[139]

Muhlenberg and his committee started work on the new hymnal shortly afterwards. Muhlenberg's diary for August 3, 1782, and August 17 of the same year mentions that he had been considering the nature of the preface, although he did not actually begin writing it until January of the next year.[140] An entry in his diary for January 21, 1783, reads:

> (1) The Reverend Ministerial Conference decided upon seven hundred and fifty hymns for the new hymnbook. (2) I have underlined five hundred and thirty-four according to the rubrics in the Halle selection; therefore, two hundred and sixteen of the required number are lacking. (3) There may be many powerful and Spirit-filled hymns in the large Halle, Wernigerode, Cöthen, etc. hymnbooks which would fill out the number, but I do not have these books.[141]

According to Hinke,[142] when the 1786 hymnal was actually published it

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[139] Spaeth, pp. 183-184.

[140] Tappert, III, 497, 499, and 524.

[141] Ibid., p. 524.

[142] Church Music and Musical Life in Pennsylvania. . ., III, 275.

had 361 hymns in common with the Halle collection, 236 in common with Saur's 1757 reprint of the Marburg book, and 153 in common with the later Reformed hymnal of 1797. At the next convention of the ministerium held in York in June, 1783, the pastors and delegates resolved to print one thousand copies of the new hymnal.

Actual publication did not occur for another three years, however. The Gemeinnützige Philadelphische Correspondenz first advertised publication of the Erbauliche Lieder-Samlung, as the hymnal was called, in the issue of October 31, 1786 (probably timed so as to coincide with Reformation Day). This announcement heralded a truly significant event as far as American Lutheranism was concerned, since the Erbauliche Lieder-Samlung[143] was the first official, full-size Lutheran hymnbook to be printed in America. Although its popularity at first grew rather slowly, it had subsequent editions in 1795, 1803, 1805, 1811, 1812, 1814, 1822, 1826, 1829, and other years as late as 1850, when the Deutsches Gesangbuch für die Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche in den Vereinigten Staaten[144] gradually began to supersede it in the German-language congregations associated with the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. In 1813 a chorale book, which we shall discuss in chapter v, was issued to accompany the 1786 hymnal. The complete title to the hymnbook reads:

> Erbauliche Lieder-Samlung zum gottesdienstlichen Gebrauch in den vereinigten Evangelisch Lutherischen Gemeinen in

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[143] (Germantown: Leibert und Billmeyer, 1786). Evans 19628.

[144] (Philadelphia: L. A. Wollenweber, 1849).

Nord-America; gesamlet, eingerichtet und zum Druck befördert durch die gesamten Glieder des hiesigen vereinigten Evangelisch Lutherischen Ministerium ("Edifying Collection of Hymns for Use in Public Worship in the United Evangelical Lutheran Congregations in North America; Gathered, Arranged, and Brought to Print by the Collected Members of the United Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium in This Country").

The copyright bears the date of October 2, 1786. As mentioned above, Muhlenberg wrote the preface to the hymnal. He begins by first referring to the preface of Kunze's Einige Gedichte und Lieder, after which he quotes several paragraphs from an unidentified German periodical concerning the godly purpose of music. He then proceeds to elucidate the following points: (1) Pastors should select those hymns for public worship which are adapted for singing by mixed gatherings, and which as much as possible support and clarify the sermon. (2) All singers, whether in public or in private, should first and foremost remain conscious of the text they are singing so that they may also consider the meaning of the words. (3) Experienced, pious ministers do well if they take opportunities to explain and develop the ideas which the hymns contain. If they do not do so, it is much the same as if one would give little children or old people, who have no teeth, hard nuts in order to quiet their hunger. (4) Singing should be done modestly and in lovely harmony. The Creator has endowed most men with the potential of singing in one of four voices, which musicians call bass, tenor, alto, and descant. If these voices are developed, refined, and sanctified in Christian schools, they thereby serve to arouse Christian gatherings, bringing about sweet harmony and a foretaste of heavenly enjoyment for those who either recognize and love the godly element in

music or else have a musical ear. (5) Up to now a lack of uniformity in hymnbooks has plagued the American Lutheran churches, but this publication will answer the question as to why the American church should not have its own hymnal. (6) Christians should strive both to further and improve poetry and music until the day arrives that the earth will be filled with the overwhelming, living recognition of Jesus Christ. (7) Persons using this book should sing and play to the Lord in order to realize the fruits of Christ; they should transmit the truths of the hymns to their children and children's children. (8) Both new and old hymns bring many spiritual advantages, and the book includes both. (9) Muhlenberg asks that the Lord may bless this book and all who use it.

After the preface a special page lists nineteen different hymns in the new collection which also appear in the Marburg hymnbook. The reader is advised to compare them as examples of the changes which occur in the new book, primarily in such matters as re-arranging stanzas, altering a few words, etc.

The main body of the Erbauliche Lieder-Samlung contains 689 hymns on 583 pages, plus a "Zugabe" which raises the total to 706 hymns on 592 pages. (Apparently even a first edition of a German hymnal must have its "Anhang" or "Zugabe!" Most German hymnbooks blossom with supplements and appendices which sometimes compete with the main body of the book in importance.) No musical notation appears in the hymnal, although melodies are designated for hymns which do not have their own tunes. An alphabetical table of contents follows the "Zugabe." The

hymn texts are arranged both according to the liturgical year and according to general topics like "Morning," "Evening," etc. In the back of the hymnal there is a collection of prayers for all the days of the week and for various special occasions. These prayers have a separate title page reading: Kurze Andachten, einer gottsuchenden Sele,[sic] auf alle Tage der Woche und andere Umstände eingerichtet ("Short Prayers for a Soul Seeking God, Arranged for Every Day of the Week and Other Occasions").

In 1790 the ministerium had Michael Billmeyer print a supplement to the hymnal. It contained Luther's small catechism, the Epistles and Gospels for Sundays and feast days throughout the church year, and appropriate prayers for these occasions. This supplement was a smaller, companion volume to the hymnbook and did not in itself contain any additional hymns.

The liturgy accompanying the 1786 hymnal appeared as a separate publication under the title: Kirchen-Agende der Evangelisch-Lutherischen-Vereinigten Gemeinen in Nord-Amerika ("Church Agenda of the United Evangelical Lutheran Congregations in North America").[145] The preface states that the liturgy was printed pursuant to the instructions of the meeting of the ministerium held in Philadelphia in May, 1785. The order of morning worship is virtually that of the 1748 liturgy. After an appropriate opening hymn the pastor reads a statement to the congregation and leads them in

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[145] (Philadelphia: Melchior Steiner, 1786). Evans 19629. The 1786 liturgy contains the orders for morning worship, pp. 1-12; afternoon worship, pp. 13-14; baptism, pp. 14-27; confession, pp. 27-33; communion, pp. 33-39; marriage, pp. 39-48; confirmation, pp. 49-56; and burial, pp. 57-58.

public confession. The confession concludes with the Kyrie, which the pastor and the congregation recite together, although it is possible that sometimes it may have been sung in a chorale version. No other music occurs until after the reading of the Epistle, whereupon the pastor announces the principal hymn, or as many verses thereof as time permits to be sung. During the singing the minister enters the pulpit to deliver the sermon. The rubrics observe that after the sermon a couple verses are sung, and in churches which customarily receive the alms at this point, sufficient verses are sung until the alms are collected. Following the Benediction the congregation sings "Unsern Ausgang"[146] or another verse which the pastor deems to be in good taste.

In city churches which hold afternoon worship the order of the service comprises: (1) an opening hymn, (2) the children come to the front to hear a short address by the pastor, (3) if time permits, the pastor summarizes the morning sermon, (4) catechize, (5) either the entire congregation or the children alone sing the Creed or another appropriate verse, during which the alms are received, (6) Sunday afternoon Collect followed by the Benediction, and (7) a closing hymn, either "Unsern Ausgang" or an appropriate evening hymn. The rubrics state that the pastor may insert a sermon if he so desires, especially if the church did not hold any morning services.

The liturgy for baptism reads that during public ceremonies after the child has been baptized, the congregation is to sing either the fifth

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[146]"Unsern Ausgang" is the third verse of "Nun Gott lob! es ist vollbracht," hymn 11 in the 1786 hymnal. It is sung to the melody of "Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier."

verse of "Nun lasst uns Gott den Herrn," beginning "Sein Wort, sein Tauf," or instead of this the last verse from "Christ unser Herr," beginning "Das Aug' allein das Wasser sieht." There is no special mention of music during the communion liturgy, although the congregation probably sang hymns during the distribution of the Elements. Communion was normally celebrated at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, although it could occur more frequently if the congregation so desired.

When the Litany was used during the course of a service it was normally read, although singing sometimes occurred. At least this was the case some years earlier, and one can assume that the same was true under the new liturgy, which primarily continued existing practices. Muhlenberg's diary for October 29, 1762, mentions singing the Litany in the Philadelphia congregation,[147] and a similar reference to singing occurs under April 25, 1760, during a service in one of the Raritan Valley churches.[148] Basically, however, the 1786 liturgy represented the generally "low church" liturgical practices of the time; thus singing the Litany was undoubtedly the exception rather than the rule.

With the publication of the 1786 hymnal and its accompanying liturgy, American Lutheranism came of age. This hymnbook was a far cry from Andrew Rudman's primitively printed hymns of eighty-six years earlier. No more would the American churches have to rely exclusively upon Europe for their books and supplies. No more would pastors or precentors have to line out the hymns on Sunday mornings because the

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[147] Tappert, I, 564.

[148] Ibid., p. 429.

congregation was unable to procure hymnals (lining out did continue in frontier churches, of course). No more would one hear a story such as that of an old minister who took up his hymnal to line out the words and apologized by saying, "My eyes are weak, the light is dim, I can scarcely see to read this hymn," only to have the congregation think that this was the first line, which they immediately began to sing![149] The pioneer days were over--at least in the eastern states, and American Lutherans were ready to enter a new era.

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[149]William A. Zundel, History of Old Zion Evangelical Lutheran Church [Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania] (N.p.; By the church, 1922), p. 102.

CHAPTER IV

LUTHERAN MUSIC IN PENNSYLVANIA: THE HELMUTH ERA IN PHILADELPHIA

Zion Church Rises to Prominence

The unsettled years of the Revolution brought many losses both financially and in membership to St. Michael's and Zion Congregation in Philadelphia. During the occupation of the city British troops turned Zion Church into a hospital, severely damaging the interior. The decade beginning with 1780 saw a marked improvement in the fortunes of the American colonies, however, and with the gradual return of stability, prosperity again smiled upon the congregation.

Rev. Justus Henry Christian Helmuth came to the Philadelphia congregation from Lancaster in 1779. Helmuth was a man of many talents who was also endowed with a strong will. Under his guidance St. Michael's and Zion Congregation became the largest and most influential church body in Philadelphia. This congregation exerted its influence not only upon the German settlers, but upon the entire population of Philadelphia and, indeed, the United States Government itself under the Articles of Confederation and the first decade of the Federal Constitution.

On some occasions Zion Church served as the semi-official house of worship for the Government itself. When news of Cornwallis' surrender at Yorktown reached Philadelphia, the members of Congress along with all

high government officials assembled in Zion for a service of thanksgiving. The Gemeinnützige Philadelphische Correspondenz for November 7, 1781, contains the following account of this service, which occurred on the previous October 24:

> In the afternoon the honorable members of Congress, the French minister, the honorable council of the commonwealth, the most prominent state officials, and a considerable number of persons of rank and esteem, both in civil as well as in military affairs, attended a public worship service which was held in Zion Lutheran Church in Fourth Street. At the beginning of the service the hymn "Ich singe dir mit Herz und Mund" was sung by the German school children and performed (musiciret) by a few virtuosos...

The account goes on to read that later in the service an appropriate English hymn was sung. It is not clear who these "virtuosos" might have been, but they were probably vocal and/or instrumental soloists who were featured during the singing of the hymn, which, perhaps, should more properly be called an anthem.

Muhlenberg's diary under the date of October 26, 1781, contains another account of this same service, as reported in a letter from his son, Frederick Augustus:

> The honorable Congress, the Assembly, and the Council met at two o'clock in the afternoon in our Zion Church, where several hymns were sung with music, a number of appropriate Psalms read, and an excellent prayer of thanksgiving was made by the Rev. Chaplain Duffil. [1]

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[1] Tappert, III, 454-455. Duffil was George Duffield, a Presbyterian clergyman in Philadelphia.

The reference to several hymns being "sung with music" implies that they were sung with instrumental support, perhaps provided by the "virtuosos" mentioned in the newspaper account. It is also apparent that more music than just the German and the English hymn mentioned in the paper formed a part of the service.

There were several reasons why Zion Church both on this and on later occasions served as the more or less official house of worship for the United States Government. In the first place, it was the largest public hall anywhere in Philadelphia. Secondly, it was within walking distance of Independence Hall, making processions from there to the church a simple matter. Third, several of the most prominent church officials were also important leaders in city, state, and national life. Moreover, the Lutherans had a reputation for being able to provide good music for special occasions -- a reputation which increased with the installation of the large Tannenberg organ in 1790, which made Zion an even more fitting building in which to hold important ceremonies.

Not only was St. Michael's and Zion congregation closely connected with Philadelphia political life, but it had a close relation with the college in Philadelphia which later became the University of Pennsylvania. Sometimes musicians from the church appeared on the university's programs. Muhlenberg's diary for May 14, 1785, reads:

> The English newspaper reports that a solemn actus was held at the university in Philadelphia on May 6, a. c., at which vocal and instrumental music was presented in accordance with refined taste, several orationes were delivered, and a number of degrees were conferred...among whom the Rev.

> Heinrich Helmuth was made a doctor of theology. It is also reported that a soft, solemn piece of vocal music, by a Number of ladies and gentlemen of the German Lutheran Church in this City was rendered between the orations. After the valedictory address the said Ladies and Gentlemen again presented Vocal Music and the Lutheran schoolmaster sang a solo.[2]

The German Academy held similar exercises in Zion Church on October 12, 1786, and again on November 29, 1787. The Gemeinnützige Philadelphische Correspondenz for October 10, 1786, mentions that on next Thursday (October 12) the German Lutheran church would hold a concert by the singing classes of the school along with recitations by different students attending the German Academy. In honor of the occasion the church and school authorities published a small, one-page program which was undoubtedly distributed to those attending the exercises. The heading at the top of this program reads:

> Folgende Ordnung wird heute, als am 12ten October, 1786, bey der vocal Musik unserer Singeschule, und Rede-Uebung verschiedener Studenten und Schüler der hiesigen Deutschen Academie, in Zion gehalten werden ("The Following Order Will Be Observed Today, the 12th of October, 1786, in Zion Church by the Vocal Music of Our Singing School and by Recitations of Different Students and School Children from the German Academy in This Place").

The singing classes both opened and closed the exercises in addition to presenting various numbers during the course of the program. Their music was in the following order: "Erhebe dich mein matter Sinn," "Wie schön ist doch das Band der Liebe," "Der Tag ist hin, mein Gott, wie

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[2] Ibid., p. 667.

bald," "Hilf mir, Herr! aus dem Verderben," "Ich sinke hin, du hebst mich auf," "Auf Seele! halte dich gefasst," "Ach mein Heiland, ich Verirrter," and "Das Echo: Stirbst Du, mein Heiland." Recitations by anywhere from two to seven students occurred between each of the musical numbers. The title of the final selection indicates that it was sung in some sort of an antiphonal or echo arrangement.

The texts were probably all written by Helmuth, and some of them were printed in other sources. "Wie schön ist doch das Band der Liebe" appears in a little book called Die ersten Früchte der Singeschule der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Gemeine in Philadelphia ("The First Fruits of the Singing School of the Evangelical Lutheran Congregation in Philadelphia")[3] as well as in the Evangelisches Magazin, volume III (July, 1814), page 248. "Hilf mir, Herr! aus dem Verderben," "Auf Seele! halte dich gefasst," and "Ich sinke hin, du hebst mich auf" are all found in Die ersten Früchte der Singeschule... There is no indication of the music to which these hymns were sung.

The exercises for November 29, 1787, followed the same plan as those of the preceding year, alternating music with various recitations.[4] The music included "Auf, Seele! halte dich gefasst," "Ich sinke hin," "Er lebt, der Fürst des Lebens," "Der Tag," "Stimmt heute dumpfe" and "Der

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[3] (Philadelphia: Melchior Steiner, 1786). Evans 19630.

[4] Ordnung der Rede-Uebungen in der Zions-Kirche, den 29sten November, 1787, von deutschen und englischen Kindern [Philadelphia: 1787].

Heiland kommt." Some of these titles are so abbreviated that it is not clear precisely what hymns were used, especially in the case of "Der Tag," two words which begin several different German hymns. However, it seems likely that it was the same "Der Tag ist hin, mein Gott wie bald" mentioned during the exercises for the preceding year, which also included "Auf Seele! halte dich gefasst" and "Ich sinke hin, du hebst mich auf." "Stimmt heute dumpfe Trauerlieder" was undoubtedly the same hymn that Helmuth wrote for Muhlenberg's memorial service, which was held in Zion Church on October 21 of the previous month.[5]

The Gemeinnützige Philadelphische Correspondenz for December 4, 1787, contains an account of the exercises, stating that the trustees and faculty of the university, the city council, and other prominent persons were present. It adds that the singing school of Zion Congregation under the direction of Mr. David Ott opened the exercises by singing an appropriate selection, and that they sang four times during the program in addition to the opening and closing numbers. Apparently the editor didn't feel that this was enough praise for the music, since two weeks later, on December 18, a further report of this program observes that "the performance of the singing school of Zion Church, under the direction of Mr. Ott, was dignified, beyond improvement, and beautiful ('feyerlich, unverbesserlich und schön')." Surely this second account must have

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[5] Cf. 1787A and 1788 in the list of Helmuth imprints given below.

pleased Mr. Ott, the schoolmaster, who was personally acquainted with the editor of the paper, Melchior Steiner. (Perhaps, therefore, Steiner's evaluations are not strictly objective!)

These references to the singing school are actually to the singing classes of students in the parochial school. As such, this use of the term "singing school" does not conform to the generally accepted meaning. Sometimes, however, the Philadelphia congregation did sponsor musical instruction on the order of a true singing school in addition to the regular church choir and the school children.

Zion and the Tannenberg Organ

After the Revolution a new flood of immigration plus the natural growth resulting from an active church life increased St. Michael's and Zion Congregation to a membership of several thousand. In 1782 the congregation completed redecoration of Zion Church, necessitated by the damage caused during the British occupation, and the Lutherans could once again proudly claim that they had the largest and most handsome house of worship in the United States. Only one thing was lacking -- an organ in keeping with the size and prestige of the congregation. The church officers began planning for such an instrument, and on July 20, 1786, David Tannenberg attended a vestry meeting and presented his plans for an organ. Tannenberg and the vestry agreed upon an instrument of thirty-four stops, for which he would receive fifteen hundred pounds in "hard money" plus

free board and lodging.[6]

This organ was to be the largest that Tannenberg had ever built, and he undoubtedly began his task with considerable enthusiasm. By the summer of 1790 the organ was essentially completed, and the Lutherans were soon busily preparing for a festive service of dedication. Helmuth's diary for July 23, 1790, says: "Today the organ builder finished placing the front pipes in the organ," and on July 31 Helmuth mentions that he has already written part of the texts for the organ dedication, some of which appear in his diary for this date, while others are under the entries for August 1 and 2. Again on August 5, Helmuth states that he worked on the musical texts for the dedication.[7]

By the middle of August Zion's new organ must have been the talk of all Philadelphia musical circles. When it became clear that the instrument would soon be finished, the church corporation invited President Washington and his aides to attend a special pre-dedication program. Helmuth's diary for August 17, 1790, contains an English ode which he had written, eulogizing Washington and welcoming him to Zion Church.

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[6] From a history of Zion Church compiled by Carl Hausmann and now in the church archives. This history involves a typescript copy of sections of the church minute book, from which this information was taken.

[7] Helmuth's diaries are in the archives of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. They are reproduced on microfilms number 41, 42, and 43 in the library of Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis.

Probably Helmuth himself read this ode on Friday, September 3, when Washington and his party came to hear the organ. Washington arrived at the church at eleven o'clock in the morning, and the school children presented some special music in addition to the organ music itself. The diary does not mention who was organist on this occasion, but it probably was Peter Kurtz. Helmuth reports that apparently the entire company enjoyed themselves, or, as he puts it:

> Ging zu Mr. Morris, der den Presidenten zu unserer Kirche bringen solle. Er kam nach 11 Uhr Die Kinder sungen Die Orgel wurde gespielt. Alles schien der ganze Geselschaft gross Vergnügen zu machen. (Went to Mr. Morris, who was supposed to bring the President to our church. He came at eleven o'clock. The children sang; the organ was played. The entire company appeared to enjoy everything very much.)

Throughout the entire month of September Helmuth's diary shows his constant pre-occupation with the new organ. He was busy making all sorts of arrangements for the dedication services, and amid all these activities he also had to serve as host for visitors and dignitaries who wished to see and hear the instrument, not to mention his regular church duties. On Friday, September 24, he reports that President Mifflin (governor of Pennsylvania) and his advisors came to the church in order to hear the organ.

Amid all these many activities the church officials had some doubts as to Peter Kurtz's ability to serve as organist; consequently, they were seeking someone who was musically qualified to handle the position. Helmuth's diary for October 4, 1790, mentions that the church council held a special meeting on account of both the approaching dedication and

the problem of selecting an organist. At this time a Mr. Miller from New York auditioned for the job, but apparently was not totally satisfactory in some respect. ("Einer Miller von New York spielte, gefiel aber nicht durchgängig.") This Mr. Miller was John Christopher Moller, a musician and composer whom we shall later discuss in greater detail, and who officially received the position a week later on October 11, according to Helmuth's diary for that date.

It is evident from his diary that Helmuth thought about little else except the organ during these days. On October 5 he wrote several lines almost in poetic ecstasy concerning the organ and its dedication to God. He also mentions that he advised the organist to remain over Sunday, but he doesn't say whether it was Moller or Kurtz. However, since Kurtz had already lost his position and Moller had won the right to play for the dedication services on October 10, his advice was probably intended for Kurtz.

The Neue Philadelphische Correspondenz for October 12, 1790, contains a fairly long and detailed report of the dedication ceremonies. Because of the great interest of this account, it is translated in full below. The original German description is found in Appendix D.

> On yesterday and the day before yesterday, the 10th and 11th instant, we have had here a ceremony which in its extent and in the manner in which it was celebrated has apparently never had its like in all America.
>
> I believe that Zion Church of the German Evangelical Lutheran Congregation in this city is the most beautiful building in all Philadelphia, and if I err in this judgment, then at least anyone who has seen it will admit that it is one of

the most magnificent buildings in all America, and that none which are dedicated to the worship of God approach it in size, proportion, and decoration. An entirely new organ has now been placed in this splendid church, an organ which surpasses everything that one has seen of organs in Philadelphia, and which those who have traveled throughout America profess to be the most magnificent and largest in this part of the world. The organ case itself measures 24 feet across the front, 8 feet deep, and 27 feet high. A figure of the sun stands above it, rising from a cloud, which it disperses with its golden rays. To the side on the right and left of the sun one perceives two eagles, as if they would fly towards the sun, and their inscription is: "Those who wait on the Lord rise up like eagles!" Near them one sees two angels, the one with the Gospel, the other with the sealed book, both, however, with trumpets in their hands, and as if they would fly up to heaven. It is a representation of that which is recorded in Isaiah 40:31, Revelations 14:6-7 and chapter 5, etc. If one stands in front of the organ, he can count more than 100 tin pipes, of which a few are 16 feet high. There are nearly 2000 pipes inside the instrument. Many of the most populous cities in Europe do not yet have such an organ, and it must be a special joy for Americans that this lovely and beautiful instrument is the work of Mr. David Tannenberg, from Lititz, in Lancaster County, who on his own initiative first began organ building here in America, but through reading, thought, and untiring diligence has so perfected his skill that if even the most skillful organ builder from Europe should come here and should test this work of his, according to the judgment of connoiseurs he would have to bestow only praise upon him and appreciate his work.

This beautiful and large organ was played for the very first time on Sunday, the 10th instant at 10 o'clock in the morning, and dedicated with a solemn address by the Dr. C. H. Hellmuth, senior pastor of the Evangelical Lutheran congregation of this city. His text was taken from Numbers 10:10, on which he spoke of instrumental music being pleasing to God. His whole heart partook of holy, joyful emotion, which, as usual with him, he imparted to all who were present, and along with himself he inspired them to the praise of the Most High.

In order to make the ceremony of this day yet more glorious, the thoughtful Dr. Hellmuth had also drawn up and had printed a few highly edifying hymns suited to this occasion, which were herewith sung to the accompaniment

of the organ. In addition, however, he had also composed the text to a splendid piece of church music for performance with organ by the singing society which he has established here. All of this was presented in the best manner, and all hearts were filled by feelings of warmest devotion. It was to them as if they were placed in the higher regions of the Divine Spirit, where praise of the Godhead resounds in the most beautiful harmony, and as if they already saw with their own eyes and already heard with their own ears all the great scenes of the terrible Day of Judgment, but along with the lovely voice of the Son of Man as well.

Although the weather was rainy and disagreeable, the extremely large church, which is 108 feet long and 80 feet broad, was nevertheless filled, and there undoubtedly would have been too great a throng, disorder, and even outright fighting had not the Corporation the foresight to make arrangements and announce that there would again be church music not only in the afternoon at half past two, but that also in the evening at 6 o'clock the entire music program of this day would be repeated. This satisfied a fortunate number of the people without stirring up the slightest discontent, and thus decent order and quiet could be maintained.

In the afternoon the very beloved Pastor F. Schmidt preached upon Psalm 103, verse 3, and he, also, knew how to communicate the warmest feelings of the praise and glory of the Most High to the hearts of those present.

In order to demonstrate their love and esteem for their fellow citizens from other confessions and from the English nation, and also to permit them to take part in this festivity (since this was entirely impossible on Sunday the 10th because of the fear of too great a crowd), tickets of invitation were printed by arrangement of the honorable Corporation and sent around to fellow citizens of the English nation and other confessions in this city, inviting them in a brotherly spirit to attend the performance of the sacred music on Monday the 11th, instant, at 10 o'clock in the morning.

The members of other confessions came together in this house of worship in an unbelievable number. On their faces one could read the powerful impression which the strength of such elevating and greatly affecting music had given them all, and truly no one left this house of prayer who had not honored our God in devotion, and had prayed to him in spirit and in truth.

Whoever stops to think that only 50 years ago the German Evangelical Lutheran members had to assemble in a mere

> barn, and in 1744 were still not of such circumstances as to build a church from their own resources, yet now have already built two churches here themselves and also have already procured such a splendid organ, must indeed confess that these people, at least in their earthly life, could take the motto: "The Lord with us! The Lord with us!"
>
> P. S. We are authorized to announce that in response to many demands, the entire program of music will be repeated in Zion Church on next Sunday, the 17th instant.

Although we do not know what he thought of the actual performances, judging from his comments prior to the dedication Tannenberg apparently was not as impressed with the music as was the editor of the Neue Philadelphische Correspondenz. Sometime before the actual dedication he included the following excerpt in a letter to a friend in Lititz:

> That myself and assistants are well, I take with thanks from the Lord's hand, and through His blessings, we have got so far with our work. On the main manual, seven stops are now in place and the pedal is complete with the exception of five pipes in the Trombone Bass. The Echo is in place and completed. On the upper manual, one stop, the Principal, is finished. When all are drawn out on the lower manual, with pedal, the church is well filled with the volume of sound, and to everyone's astonishment.
>
> I am glad that you will accompany Bro. Herbst to the Dedication; Come, by all means. Not that you will see anything extraordinary, but that you can share my thankfulness that the Lord has helped me. H. Helmuth is busily engaged on the "Fest Psalm" for the Dedication. As regards the music for the same one can plainly see that it will be very simple and not at all after our taste. (Gar nicht nach unserm Schmach.)[8]

This letter was written several weeks before the dedication, so perhaps Tannenberg did not have a fair opportunity to evaluate the music.

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[8] Beck, Lancaster County Historical Society, XXX, 6-7.

However, in comparison to the elaborate musical services which the Moravians probably would have arranged for such an occasion, it undoubtedly did seem simple. On the other hand, it was far more elaborate than the usual fare for churches in Philadelphia, which may explain the seeming discrepancy between Tannenberg's reaction and that of the thousands who thronged to hear the instrument and the music.

Helmuth's diary contains only the briefest mention of music and the organ for October 10 and 11, which is probably not surprising considering how busy he must have been during those days. However, at least four copies of the pamphlet which the church printed for the occasion survive in the archives of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, and other copies are in the General Theological Seminary Library, New York, and the library of the Pennsylvania German Society in Philadelphia, so it is possible to obtain a good idea of the order of events. The pamphlet comprises fifteen pages plus the title page, which reads:

> Lob und Anbetung des Gottmenschen am Tage der Einweihung der neuen Orgel in der Deutschen Evangelisch Lutherischen Zions Kirche in Philadelphia, den 10 October, 1790 ("Praise and Adoration by Men of God on the Day of the Dedication of the New Organ in the German Evangelical Lutheran Zion Church in Philadelphia, the 10th of October, 1790").[9]

During the morning service the congregation participated in singing three hymns, choirwise. Since the texts do not indicate any type

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[9] (Germantaun: Michael Billmeyer, 1790). Evans 22797.

of alternation, perhaps chorweise in this case simply means "in chorus together," which would make part-singing probable, but not necessarily so. The first hymn, "Schaue, treuer Heiland, heut," consisted of three verses sung to the melody of "Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier." The second hymn had five verses and was sung to "Sei Lob und Ehr"; it began, "Wir singen heute Deinen Ruhm." The third hymn began, "O! dass mit unsrer Orgelthönen" and comprised two verses sung to "O, dass ich tausend Zungen hätte". The second, third, and fourth verses of "Wir singen heute Deinen Ruhm" were inspired by and also explained the symbols and figures which decorated the top of the organ case, e.g. the rising sun, the eagles, and the two angels with the books. Helmuth's diary for August 1 and 2, 1790, contains the texts to these hymns, indicating that he probably finished writing them about this time. His diary designates that "O! dass mit unsrer Orgelthönen" was to be sung after the sermon. Since the printed pamphlet does not contain the complete order of service, this was probably the case. It seems likely that the first hymn opened the service (it is so designated in the diary), the second hymn probably occurred before the sermon in the position of the principal hymn, while the third was sung after the sermon.

After the texts of the hymns the pamphlet prints the complete text of the cantata which the singing society presented. This singing society was probably an augmented version of the choir which regularly sang for services in Zion. The cantata had the following arrangement:

1. The entire choir: "Sprich sie, des Donners auf Sina, dumpfe, doch prächtige Thöne!" This was the complete text. According to Helmuth's diary for July 31, 1790, he intended the organ to accompany this text with the subbass, principal bass, quintadena, and gambe -- a combination of stops obviously designed to imitate thunder. The entire cantata was arranged so as to display the symbolic nature of the different tone colors of the organ.

2. Bass solo: "An dem schwarzen Firmamente"; an aria comprising eight lines of text.

3. Bass duet: "Donnre Donner! trif den Sünder." The descant sings part of the second line, while the third line is marked tutti. The remainder of the eight lines are for the bass duet.

4. Organ prelude.

5. Solo, followed by tutti. "Höret die bebenden Thöne des Kummers"; two lines. Helmuth's diary for July 31 indicates that he planned to accompany these lines with the 4' flute, 8' grossgedackt, and tremulant. Whether Moller used this registration in the actual performance is not known, but undoubtedly he followed Helmuth's wishes as much as was practical.

6. Duet: "Wo soll ich Wurm, ich Sunder hin"; four lines.

7. Tutti: "O bange Noth! die Sünd und Tod"; four lines, in the same meter as the preceding duet.

8. Solo, followed by tutti: "Flöte die sanfteren Noten"; two lines. The diary prescribes the flute <u>amabile</u> for accompanying this number.

9. Organ prelude featuring the vox humana.

10. "Lausche! Die Stimme des Menschsohns"; two lines. The program does not designate whether this was a solo, duet, or chorus. Helmuth's diary calls for the organ to feature the vox humana during this selection.

11. Solo: "Kommt, Sünder! kommt, ich bin eu'r Theil"; four lines in the same meter as numbers six and seven.

12. Entire congregation: "Thönet mit Cimbeln, Posaunen und lauten Trumpeten"; sung to the melody of "Lobet den Herren." Helmuth's diary of August 2 planned for this verse to follow the Benediction. This would seem to indicate that the cantata was presented after the sermon, and this final chorus not only concluded the cantata, but the entire service.

Just as the newspaper account states, special music occurred again in the afternoon and in the evening. According to the official pamphlet, the afternoon services included:

1. Congregation: "Wunderbarer König," sung choirwise. An entry in the fly leaves of Helmuth's diary after December 31, 1789, mentions that the first three verses were to be sung choirwise, followed by the sermon.

Program by the singing society, after the sermon.

2. Duet: "Schwellt ihr Augen, schwellt von Thränen"; two lines. Then follow three lines by the choir, whereupon the choir repeats what was first sung as a duet.

3. Echo: "Mein Heil in Aengsten such ich dich -- ich dich"; two verses of four lines each. The last two words of each line form the echo. Echo choruses must have been a favorite of Helmuth, since he uses this device relatively frequently.

4. Tutti: "Thönet Dank!" Nine lines of text.

5. Congregation: "Wohl uns, die Jesum, den Gottmensch in Wahrheit verehren"; one verse. Judging from the meter, this verse probably used the melody of "Lobet den Herren." An inscription at the close of the afternoon service reads: "In the evening the entire program of music will be repeated." It is not clear whether this means that all the music for the morning and the afternoon was repeated, or whether this applied only to the afternoon. In view of the fact that many persons were unable to attend the morning service, it seems plausible that all the music for both morning and afternoon was repeated in the evening.

The texts of the music for these two services occupy eleven pages of the pamphlet, while pages 12 through 15 are devoted to a description of the organ and of the church. The description and specifications of the organ were as follows:

> Since this organ is the largest and also truly the most beautiful in all America, undoubtedly a little report concerning it will be agreeable to friends both at home and abroad. Here it is:
>
> The organ case is 24 feet across the front, eight feet deep, and 27 feet high.
>
> The arrangement of the case consists of 5 round turrets and 4 flat panels, all two tiers high, with the exception of the 2 side turrets, which, because of their height, make only one tier instead of two.

The workmanship of the case is a masterpiece and does true honor to the master builder, Georg Vorbach. Over 100 tin pipes stand in the front of the organ, of which the largest are 16 feet high; the entire instrument contains almost 2000 sounding pipes.

It has 3 manuals.

The great manual contains the following registers:

1. Principal -----	8 feet	6. Trumpet --------	8 feet
2. Quintadena ----	16 feet	7. Octave ----------	4 feet
3. Gambe -------	8 feet	8. Quinte ----------	3 feet
4. Gemshorn ----	8 feet	9. Octave ----------	2 feet
5. Gedackt ------	8 feet	10. Flute ----------	4 feet

11. Mixture --- 4 and 6 ranks.

Swell

1. Principal dulc. -	8 feet	6. Nachthorn --------	4 feet
2. Quintadena -----	8 feet	7. Solicet ----------	4 feet
3. Vox humana----	8 feet	8. Hohlflöte ---------	2 feet
4. Flute amabile --	8 feet	9. Cimbel ----------	4 ranks
5. Gedackt -------	8 feet	10. Fistelquint -------	3 ranks

Echo, goes up to tenor F.

1. Dulcian ---------	8 feet	4. Hautbois ---------	8 feet
2. Transverse flute	8 feet	5. Fistula octave -----	4 feet
3. Rohr flute -----	8 feet	6. Nachthorn --------	4 feet

7. Echo bass --- 8 feet.

Pedal

1. Principal bass -	16 feet	4. Octave bass -------	8 feet
2. Subbass --------	16 feet	5. Quinta----------	6 feet
3. Posaune ------	16 feet	6. Octave ----------	4 feet

In addition to the registers there are also a cimbel stern, tremulant, sperr ventil, and 2 couplers.

Wind for the entire instrument comes from 5 large bellows.

After this description of the organ, the pamphlet continues with a few general remarks concerning the church, saying that it stands on the east side of Fourth Street, is built of brick, and is 108 feet long, 80 feet wide, and proportionally high. The interior has eight high pillars of the Doric order, and the organ is on the east side of the church.

Zion's new organ attracted wide attention to the church, which, indeed, was undoubtedly one of its aims. Helmuth's diary for October 24, 1790, mentions that six or seven Indian chiefs came to the church early Sunday morning in order to listen to the organ, and they behaved with the utmost decorum. On December 19, 1790, he wrote in his diary that many members of Congress were coming to Zion Church, and four days later he mentions that the church council had extended an invitation to Congress to attend a special program of church music. This invitation was probably arranged through the offices of Frederick Muhlenberg, for on December 20 Helmuth wrote that he went to see Muhlenberg concerning a visit of Congress to the church. On December 30 Helmuth went to see Governor Mifflin, probably concerning this impending visit, and on January 5 two of the church officials accompanied him to see President Washington and Governor Mifflin "concerning next Saturday."

"Next Saturday" was January 8, 1791, and this was the day that Congress and the officials of government came in a body to hear a special program of church music. This concert for Congress and the special pre-dedication performance for President Washington should not be confused with the actual dedication services themselves, as some writers have done.[10] There is no evidence that either Washington or Congress (as a

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[10] E. g. Robert A. Gerson, Music in Philadelphia (Philadelphia: Theodore Presser, 1940), p. 8 is one of the more recent writers to make this error.

body) attended the actual dedication of the organ on October 10. Both the performance for Washington on September 3 and the sacred concert for Congress on January 8 were specially arranged for the occasions.

Apparently the program on January 8 went better than Helmuth had expected, for he writes: "My worries had been all in vain; the gathering came off with propriety and without any uneasiness at all. The Lord be praised; he always keeps watch over things better than one can expect." Jacob Hiltzheimer's diary for January 8, 1791, contains a few more items of information concerning this sacred concert. He states: "At 11 o'clock, the members of Congress and the Assembly attended a concert in the Lutheran Church, on Fourth Street. The President of the United States with his lady were present."[11] Hiltzheimer's account explains why Helmuth had to visit Washington and Mifflin in addition to making arrangements with Frederick Muhlenberg, since other officials besides the members of Congress attended the performance. Hiltzheimer, incidentally, also attended the extra service in connection with the dedication on October 11, for his diary under that date reads: "Went to the Lutheran Church to hear the new organ, made by David Tanneberger of Lancaster County."[12]

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[11] Jacob C. Parsons (ed.), Extracts from the Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer (Philadelphia: William F. Fell, 1893), p. 166. Hiltzheimer was a member of the Assembly as a delegate from Philadelphia. He was a friend and associate of many influential state and national figures.

[12] Ibid., p. 164.

The new organ provided a strong stimulus for greater musical activity in St. Michael's and Zion Congregation. For the last two months of 1790 Helmuth's diary literally blossoms with ideas for new hymns, texts for the choir, and various references to music. During November a new singing school was organized. This was apparently a singing school in the true sense of the word, probably including primarily members from Zion's choir. On November 21 Helmuth states that he discussed many things with Moller concerning the singing, and his diary has entries mentioning the singing school on November 23, 24, 25, 26, 29, and December 3 and 7. Under the date of November 26 his diary records that Moller came to see him concerning the kettle drums. Unfortunately Helmuth gives no further details, so we are left in the dark as to why kettle drums were needed. However, one may presume that they were among the instruments used to support the singing and the organ, especially on important occasions. Since the first Sunday in Advent occurred on November 28, and since Helmuth and Moller were preparing a special musical program for this occasion,[13] one may assume that the kettle drums were used in connection with this service. With all the musical activity surrounding him, it is not surprising to read in his diary for December 1, 1790, that Helmuth says his mind was filled with all sorts of ideas concerning music when he awoke in bed that morning.

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[13] Cf. 1790 C in the chronological list of Helmuth imprints.

An entry in his diary for December 3 mentions that he attended a meeting of St. Michael's and Zion Corporation concerning the establishment of a singing school. Since some sort of singing school had already been operating for at least the past few weeks, the meaning of this statement is not completely clear. Perhaps Helmuth was seeking financial support from the church officers, or perhaps he desired to have the singing school established on a more permanent basis.

Other Special Services in Zion

Prosperity and influence continued to bless Zion Church during the year 1791. Helmuth must have been both pleased and thankful for the way in which his congregation had become the most influential in Philadelphia. However, when one considers the times in which he lived, Helmuth's task was no easy one, despite his success. During the years immediately following the French revolution atheism and rationalism permeated both Philadelphia culture and some segments of the federal government itself.

Helmuth and the officers of the church corporation fully realized that they must battle these secular influences with the best means at their disposal, and this means proved to be music. Like Muhlenberg and Kunze, Helmuth was not so much interested in music for its own sake as in music as the handmaid of theology. The grand organ was simply another weapon -- and a mighty formidable one -- in the battle against atheism and rationalism. It attracted thousands of persons to Zion Church, and when one considers that the population of Philadelphia in 1790 was slightly less than thirty

thousand, one more easily realizes how large a percentage of the people had at least some contact with the Lutheran congregation.

Although he tends to overstate his case and exaggerate the facts, Julius F. Sachse has made some very pertinent observations concerning the Lutherans' use of music to combat secular influences. Referring to the organ, he writes:

> The opening of this fine instrument with its multitude of pipes, and beautiful ornamentations, which portrayed the symbol of the Halle institution, together with the special hymns and services, all tended to further unify the German Lutheran congregation, and demonstrate its strength in the community as a bulwark against the growing infidelity of that age.[14]
>
> .....
>
> The Lutheran congregation opened its doors, and by the aid of special services strove to attract not only the German population, but the English of all sorts and conditions as well. The grand organ and the singing society organized by pastor Helmuth were utilized, and musical services arranged, which at different times were graced with the presence of President Washington, his wife and official family, as well as the whole Congress of the United States, the Legislature of Pennsylvania and the city government, all of which was intended to check the unhealthy notions of the day, and keep alive the spirit of true religion in our midst.[15]

Another occasion which kept Zion Church in the public's attention occurred on Tuesday, March 1, 1791, when the American Philosophical Society used the church for a memorial service to Benjamin Franklin.

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[14] Julius F. Sachse, "The Religious and Social Conditions of Philadelphia during the First Decade of the Federal Constitution," Lutheran Church Review, XX (October, 1901), 494.

[15] Ibid., p. 500.

Helmuth records in his diary for February 25, 1791, that three members of the society, Messrs. Magaw, Schmidt, and Patterson, visited him to see about holding a eulogy on the death of Dr. Franklin. He referred them to Frederick Muhlenberg and the officers of the church, who in turn gave their assent to use the church for this purpose. Concerning this service, Helmuth writes: "All sorts of men assembled very quietly and properly in Zion; Dr. Smith delivered a powerful eulogy on the late Franklin; our Moeller played the organ."[16] The Neue Philadelphische Correspondenz for March 4, 1791, contains an account of this memorial service. It says that those present included the President and his wife, the Vice President and his wife, the Senate and House of Representatives, both houses of the Pennsylvania legislature, members of the Cabinet, foreign ministers and consuls, and numerous lesser dignitaries -- truly an illustrious assemblage.

Despite the yellow fever epidemic of 1793, Zion Church continued to exert a strong influence upon Philadelphia musical life. Over three years after the service of dedication the large organ continued to attract much attention. Hiltzheimer's diary for April 12, 1794, says: "This afternoon the members of the Legislature went to the Lutheran church to hear the new organ."[17] In some ways it seems strange that Hiltzheimer still calls the organ "new" over three years after it had been installed; perhaps this

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[16] Diary, March 1, 1791.

[17] Parsons, p. 204.

indicates that the impressiveness and uniqueness of the instrument had not diminished in that time.

The 1794 Fire

The day after Christmas, 1794, proved to be one of the darkest in the history of Zion congregation. The Christmas services themselves had been a great success, attended by several thousand worshipers. But fate can sometimes turn great joy into sudden sorrow, and this was the case on the second day of Christmas in 1794. As Jacob Hiltzheimer tells it, around eight o'clock in the evening he heard the cry of fire, and found that it was in the back part of the Lutheran church at Fourth and Cherry Streets, in a section adjoining the church where the steeple was to be built. This part was consumed before nine o'clock, and the church proper was thought safe. However, fire later broke out under the roof, spread to the interior, and "the beautiful building was burned to the ground."[18] Helmuth's diary for December 26 and 27 contains virtually the same account, without any additional details.

Anti-church and other atheistic elements in Philadelphia looked upon the burning of Zion with considerable glee, and they did not hesitate to spread false rumors that the fire started as a result of a secret meeting of an extremist German political group in the vestry room. Indeed, during the fire itself some portions of the crowd tried to hinder those who were

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[18] Ibid., p. 210.

fighting the blaze. Citing a contemporary sketch drawn by Paul Reiche, a member of the congregation, Sachse writes that "a rabble of thousands of French and infidels... refused to aid in the passing of water or manning the levers of the engines; and, sad to say, they tried to break the lines of the passers so as to insure the destruction of the church."[19] The anti-church rumors connecting a political group to the burning spread as far as New York, where one finds the following item in the New York Herald for January 7, 1795, under the heading of "Ominous":

> We learn that the burning of the German Lutheran Church in Philadelphia took place in consequence of the meeting of the Republican Society in the Vestry that evening, to frame and digest that fiery address signed Henry Kammerer, which has been published in many of the Newspapers...
>
> An honest German, while handing buckets on this occasion, complained bitterly, "dis is too much said he, dey hab made one fire in de Western contry, and now dey would make anoder fire to burn de church."

However, on January 10 the Herald was honest enough to print a retraction of the story, saying that "the Editor has unquestionable authority to contradict the paragraph -- the German Republican Society did not meet in the vestry that evening."

Although the fire was certainly a major disaster, it spread slowly, thus enabling the fire fighters to save many of the interior furnishings of the church, including a large portion of the organ. A notice inserted in the Philadelphia papers on January 1 contained an appeal for funds to help in rebuilding, and also closed with this paragraph:

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[19] Sachse, Lutheran Church Review, XX, 511.

> At the same time those persons who have been kind enough, at the late fire, to take into their care any articles belonging to the congregation of the Lutheran Church, are kindly requested to deliver the same to either of the above named gentlemen; in particular, any articles belonging to the organ, such as pipes, &c., &c."[20]

A week later, on January 7, an article by Frederick Muhlenberg, president of the church corporation, appeared in the Philadelphia Gazette. Muhlenberg's main purpose in writing this article was to kill the ugly rumors that had spread, and to set forth the facts of the unfortunate fire. Referring to the organ, he writes: "The expense of this organ, together with the frame and gallery, amounted to £3,500, this sum being paid off by voluntary contributions..."[21] Muhlenberg says that the fire started because the sexton carelessly left a box of hot ashes in a closet in the vestry room. The closet was under a stairs, so when the fire broke out it quickly spread upwards into the steeple, and some time later from there to the roof of the church.

> In a very short time, and whilst the church was yet full of people, who were employed in removing the organ, the fire fell through the ceiling, and getting within the church, soon demolished the inside work of the building... The ornaments and a great part of the organ itself, were by the industry of our fellow citizens rescued, as also the best part of the library, together with the records, deeds, and other instruments of writing of the corporation.[22]

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[20] Ibid., p. 513.

[21] Julius F. Sachse (ed.), "Muhlenberg's Short Sketch of the Lutheran Congregation in Philadelphia. 1795," Lutheran Church Review, XXI (January, 1902), 85.

[22] Ibid., p. 86.

Fortunately the walls of the church were not damaged in the blaze, thus making the task of rebuilding somewhat simpler. While the church was being rebuilt, the congregation worshiped in St. Michael's, the hall of the parochial school, and also in the German Reformed sanctuary.

In the fall of 1796 the rebuilt Zion was again ready for worship services. We do not possess the specifications of the new organ, but it was a very large instrument, primarily built from the pipes and other fittings rescued from the fire. An article in the Evangelisches Magazin of 1812 claims that this new instrument was almost as large as the old one, and that connoiseurs considered it to be one of the largest and finest in America.[23]

The official rededication of the church occurred on November 27, 1796, and as on almost every other important occasion during his pastorate, Helmuth wrote a special cantata text for the ceremonies. The title to the pamphlet containing the text reads simply: Lieder abgesungen in der Zions-Kirche, den 27sten November, 1796 ("Hymns Sung in Zion Church on the 27th of November, 1796").[24] An explanatory note on the title page says that on this day the members of the congregation assembled in the church for public worship for the first time since the fire of December 26, 1794. The order of the singing society's cantata for the morning service was:

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[23]"Nachricht von Gemeinden," Evangelisches Magazin, I (January, 1812), 107.

[24](Philadelphia: Steiner und Kämmerer, 1796).

1. Choir: "Gott! welche bange, bange Nacht"; a hymn of four verses in long meter.

2. Aria: "Dies Feu'r erweichte vieler Herzen"; one verse in an irregular meter.

3. "Und heute, wonnevoller Tag." This was probably a chorus, and like the first number it was a hymn of four verses in long meter.

4. Aria: "Heut schallen dir hier unsre Lieder." This verse has the same meter as the second number, and it was probably a second verse to that number.

5. Congregation: "Die Pracht von Zions Herrlichkeit"; three verses sung to the melody of "Allein Gott in der Höh."

6. Principal hymn (before the sermon): "Erschrecklich war'st Du im Gericht"; five verses sung to "Lobt Gott, ihr Christen allzugleich." Verses six and seven were sung after the sermon, while the eighth and final stanza served as the closing hymn.

This text arrangement shows some of the basic structural features inherent in almost all Helmuth's cantatas. One immediately observes the unity achieved by singing the two arias to what was probably the same music. The similarity of the first and third numbers, which contrast the two arias, is also apparent. For the finale there is no better way to achieve a climax than to have the congregation join in singing, and this is precisely what Helmuth specifies (no doubt an influence from German practices). It was also relatively common to spread the verses of the principal hymn over portions of the service, both before and after the sermon, as occurs in

this case. This provided a type of musical unity to the service as a whole, and also served to frame the sermon.

During the afternoon worship the singing society presented a similar, though somewhat shorter program:

1. Choir: "Komm hernieder, Geist von Oben"; two verses. Helmuth had previously published this same hymn in 1790 in a little eight-page pamphlet for children entitled simply, Lieder. Cf. 1790A in the list of Helmuth imprints.

2. Aria: "Sey lebendig hier zugegen"; two verses. This probably was an adaptation of a duet to the same text which was used at the dedication of the church in Reading in 1794. The music was by Moller, and appears in Appendix H.

3. Congregation (before the sermon): "Herr, unser Gott, wir preisen heut"; three verses sung to the melody of "Sey Lob und Ehr dem höchsten Gut." After the sermon the congregation sang one verse of "Herr, segne du den Eingang heut" to the tune of "Kommt her zu mir, spricht Gottes Sohn."

The choir -- or as Helmuth called it, the singing society -- was not a group to do things in a small way. For the evening service on November 27 they presented still another musical program. Their portion of the service began with three verses of what apparently was a chorus, "Halleluja, Lob, Preis und Ehr," followed by an aria of two verses of eight lines each, "Ruhmt den Heiland, Ruhmt mit Freuden." Thereupon the congregation joined to sing "Lobe, Zion, lobe deines Herren Thaten," the first

two verses before, and the third verse after the sermon. This last hymn was especially appropriate since Helmuth had originally written it for the official reopening of Zion on September 22, 1782, after the damage occasioned by the British troops had been repaired. This same hymn also appears in the Erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung, number 694.

Rebuilding of the organ and of the church edifice again cast Zion into a prominent role in Philadelphia life. In writing of his American travels, Moreau de Saint-Méry says that the Philadelphia Lutheran church, rebuilt after the fire that destroyed it, is one of the most beautiful in the city. He adds that it has a fine organ and a beautiful steeple.[25] By making some changes in the seating arrangement, the rebuilt Zion actually had a slightly larger seating capacity than before the fire. Once again, therefore, it was the largest public hall in Philadelphia.

Washington's Funeral Service

Washington's funeral service, held in Zion Church on December 26, 1799, was one of the most interesting and widely publicized special events in the entire history of Zion congregation. Washington himself was not a Lutheran, but since Zion was the largest public hall in Philadelphia, and since by tradition Congress had assembled therein on previous special occasions, it was only fitting that this house of worship should serve for the official state funeral.

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[25] Médéric-Louis-Elie Moreau de Saint-Méry, Voyage aux Etats-Unis de l'Amérique, 1793-1798. Ed. Stewart L. Mims (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1913), p. 365.

A select group of the best professional and amateur musicians in Philadelphia under the direction of Alexander Reinagle, one of the most prominent names in the early history of American music, provided the music. The order of the musical numbers was printed in a special six-page pamphlet entitled: Arrangement of the Music, to be Performed at the German Lutheran Church, in Fourth Street, on Thursday, December 26, 1799, at the Funeral Solemnity in Honor of General Washington. The list of musicians who participated is of interest because it contains several of the most prominent names in contemporary American musical life. The assistant conductor was Mr. Taylor, who in turn had two assistants, "Mr. Wignell and Francis." Mr. Gillingham led the orchestra, or, as the program puts it, the "band." It appears as though the music had an abundance of directors -- probably an arrangement that was necessary in order not to injure personal sensitivities.

The principal vocal performers included Mrs. Oldmixon, Mrs. Warrell, Miss Broadhurst, Miss Huntley, Mr. Carr, and Mr. Darley. The choruses were sung by Mrs. Gillingham, Miss Arnold, Miss Solomon, Mr. Blisset, Mr. Warrell, Mr. Warrell junior, Mr. Robbins, and others (designated merely by the sign "&c."). The instrumentalists were Messrs. Chataudune, Dangel, Homman, Tiboult, Hadd, Wolfe, Labarte, Brooks, Bouillay, Schetkey, Bruix, Strabann, L'Huillier, Hupfeldt, and two additional men designated as "amateurs" -- Phillips and Whitesides. The musical portions of the funeral ceremony had the following order:

1. "Dead March in Saul," as the procession entered the church.

2. "Solemn Introduction," composed by Mr. Taylor.

3. Air and chorus: "Columbia's Sons"; sung by Miss Huntley to music by Handel.

4. Air: "His Glorious Deeds"; sung by Mr. Darley to music by Handel.

5. "March."

6. Air: "Sad, Sad Are the Tidings"; composed by Mr. Carr and sung by Miss Broadhurst.

7. Air: "Angels Ever Bright and Fair"; sung by Mrs. Oldmixon to music by Handel.

8. Air: "Lord, Remember thy People"; sung by Mr. Carr to music by Handel.

9. Air: "Pious Orgies, Pious Airs"; sung by Mrs. Warrell to music by Handel.

10. Chorus: "His Body Was Buried in Peace."

11. After the oration, the orchestra played the overture to the oratorio, Esther.

Benjamin Carr[26] composed both the fifth and the sixth selections of the above program, and shortly after the funeral solemnities he published

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[26] Carr was an English musician who came to Philadelphia in 1793, where he opened a music store. He was an organist and performed primarily in Episcopal and Roman Catholic churches; he also composed and published various musical numbers.

them as a separate piece of sheet music with the title, "Dead March & Monody." Beneath the title is the inscription: "Performed in the Lutheran Church Philadelphia on Thursday the 26th December 1799 being Part of the Music Selected for Funeral Honours to our late illustrious Chief General George Washington." Judging from this inscription, Carr must have had an aversion to commas! He obviously published this music with an eye to potential profits by reaping the benefit of current public sentiment. The second page contains an arrangement of the "Dead March" for either two flutes, or violins, or clarinets, or guitars (Carr didn't want to miss any possibilities for a sale), and immediately beneath it the aria or monody is adapted for a choice of vocal duet or the optional flutes, violins, clarinets, and guitars. The first page prints the march and monody as they were performed during the actual service.

A glance at the music will immediately demonstrate that the musicians made a wise choice in relying upon Handel rather than upon Carr for the bulk of the program. The "Dead March" consists of only sixteen bars, two sections of eight measures each, both repeated. It is scored for keyboard and moves in a very slow tempo, as one would expect. The "Monody," which was sung by Miss Broadhurst, comprises a two-bar keyboard introduction, eight bars of text, and a two-bar postlude. Although only a keyboard instrument (i.e. organ) is specified, it seems likely that the orchestra also played with the organ during the actual performance. An original copy of Carr's music is in the archives of Zion Church, Philadelphia, and a photostatic reproduction exists in the Library of Congress.

A booklet published by St. Michael's and Zion Congregation in 1945, on the occasion of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the present church edifice,[27] contains a reproduction of a painting purporting to show the interior of the church during the funeral ceremonies. A balcony extends around all four sides of the church, with the organ and the choir being located in the front balcony behind a canopied pulpit. Judging from the size of the organ case, it appears to have approximately the same dimensions as the case which was destroyed in the 1794 fire. Immediately in front of the organ several persons appear to be holding music as if they were preparing to sing. It is impossible to distinguish any members of the orchestra, but they, too, were probably located in the balcony near the organ.

Turning to other accounts of the funeral, the True American for Wednesday, December 25, has a notice signed by Peter Kraft, president of the St. Michael's and Zion Corporation, stating that Congress has accepted the offer of the congregation to hold Washington's funeral ceremonies in the church on Thursday. The notice states that the entire lower part of the church and the first four pews in the gallery, which is said to seat fourteen hundred persons, would be reserved for government officials and other prominent persons who received invitations. The remainder of

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[27] Old Zion Past and Present (Philadelphia: For the church, 1945). The same picture appears in the Fest-Buechlein zum 175 Jährigen Jubilaum der Zions-Gemeinde (Philadelphia: For the church, 1917).

the gallery was to be open to the public. The same newspaper for Friday, December 27, gives the text of the special music and also describes the procession which accompanied the bier to the church in the afternoon. The procession began at noon, and included military units, members of Congress, and all high government officials.

The official Journal of the House of Representatives of the United States contains the following entry for this date:

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 26, 1799

> This being the day appointed by the resolution of Congress for the funeral procession in honor of the memory of GEORGE WASHINGTON, late General of the Armies of the United States, the House proceeded to the German Lutheran Church, where they attended the funeral oration prepared and delivered on the occasion by Major General Lee, one of the members of this House, for the State of Virginia: And, having returned,
>
> The House adjourned until to-morrow morning eleven o'clock.[28]

The Senate journal contains a similar, though briefer account:

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 26, 1799

> In conformity to the resolve of the 23d instant the Senate went in procession to the German Lutheran church, where was delivered an oration in honor of the memory of General George Washington. After which, they returned to their own chamber; and
>
> Adjourned to 11 o'clock to-morrow morning.[29]

Washington's funeral ceremonies provided a fitting conclusion to the activities of St. Michael's and Zion Congregation during the eighteenth

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[28] III (Washington: Gales & Seaton, 1826), 544.

[29] Journal of the Senate of the United States of America, III (Washington: Gales & Seaton, 1821), 15.

century. In less than sixty years, and amid the trials of war, epidemic, and fire, the congregation had grown from virtually nothing to the largest church in Philadelphia. As the new century dawned, the church boasted a membership of several thousand, along with a school that was a leading influence in Philadelphia educational life. As the editor of the Neue Philadelphische Correspondenz wrote at the time the Tannenberg organ was dedicated, the German Lutherans could truly say, "The Lord with us!"

Justus Henry Christian Helmuth: Hymnodist

During the more than forty years that Dr. Helmuth served St. Michael's and Zion Congregation, he compiled an original corpus of several hundred hymn, anthem, and cantata texts, mostly written for performance in the two Philadelphia churches. Many of these texts were published either as broadsides or pamphlets, and were distributed to the congregation when they attended the services. While more than fifty such imprints still survive, largely in the archives of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, probably more than double this number were originally printed. The church customarily published these texts for the festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, and occasionally for other church festivals as well as for special events. Only a few of these leaflets and pamphlets have found their way into the standard bibliographies of American imprints, perhaps explaining why this aspect of Lutheran activity has been so little emphasized by both general church historians as well as historians of music in America. As libraries in the Philadelphia area gain a better

knowledge of their own holdings, probably even more of these imprints will be uncovered. In the course of this study the author has found several references to hymn and cantata texts in Helmuth's diary and other sources which were probably published, but of which it has not been possible to locate any known copies.

When these pamphlets contain hymns for congregational singing, there are usually references to the standard hymn tunes. In the case of anthems or cantatas, however, any mention of music is usually conspicuously absent. This raises the question of what sort of music the choir and soloists might have used. In some cases the texts are of such metrical arrangement as to imply that chorale settings may have supplied the music. At other times the meters are so irregular as to make this a virtual impossibility. In these latter instances one may presume that music from other sources was adapted to the texts, or else that original music was supplied. During the four years that John Christopher Moller was organist at Zion, he undoubtedly both adapted and wrote much of the music himself. Since he presided at the organ as well, no more than a few scraps of paper with the appropriate tune and figured bass would suffice. In the case of the school children, much of their music was memorized, so it was not necessary for each child to have a copy of his particular part. This undoubtedly explains why virtually none of the actual music seems to survive today. Collections of solos, duets, and trios with figured bass such as Bachofen's Musicalisches Halleluja[30] were popular among the German-

[30]Joh. Caspar Bachofen, Musicalisches Halleluja oder schöne und geistreiche Gesänge (Zurich: Bürglischer, 1776).

speaking churches, and perhaps some of the texts were adapted to music from this large volume itself, which contains 880 pages of solos, trios, etc. with figured bass. Also, one must not overlook the possibility of adapting some of the fuguing tunes that were popular with the English-language singing schools; evidence of influence from these fuguing tunes exists in several sources dating from the early years of the nineteenth century, although none seem to contain any specific texts by Helmuth.

There is no better way to demonstrate Helmuth's intense activity in this area than to give a descriptive listing of the various leaflets and pamphlets which he authored. We have already discussed a few of these in considering some of the special services held in Zion Church, but many more still await our examination. As a matter of convenience, and for ready reference, the following discussion will arrange these imprints chronologically. Undated publications will be examined at the conclusion of the chronological listing. If no publisher's name or place of publication is listed, it is because it is lacking in the original; likewise, Helmuth's name is given as the author only if it appears on the imprint itself.

Chronological List of Helmuth Imprints

1781. J. H. C. Helmuth, Empfindungen des Herzens in einigen Liedern ("Feelings of the Heart in a Few Hymns") (Philadelphia: Melchior Steiner, 1781). Evans 17186.

This is actually a book, rather than a pamphlet. The main body has eighty-one pages containing thirty-three different hymns, in addition to a rather extended foreword covering several pages. Some of the hymns have as

many as twenty to thirty stanzas, and most of them designate the appropriate hymn tune. Since it is of interest to consider the melodies which the Philadelphia churches actually used at this time, a listing of these tunes as found in Helmuth's book, along with the number of times each is used (if mentioned more than once), is as follows:

Auf, Christen-Mensch, auf, auf
Mir nach, spricht Christus
Werde munter mein Gemüthe
O ihr auserwählten Kinder
Zeuch meinen Geist, trif meine
Hier legt mein Sinn sich vor dir nieder
Mein Gott! das Herz ich bringe dir
Ich ruf zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ
Meine Liebe lebet noch -- twice
Mein Freund zerschmelzt -- four times
Jesu, hilf siegen, du Fürste des Lebens
Wenn meine Sünd' mich
Der Tag ist hin, mein Jesu, bey mir bleibe -- twice
Wach auf mein Herz und singe
Prächtig kommt der Herr, mein König
O Haupt voll Blut -- three times
Ringe recht, wann Gottes Gnade
Mein Herzens Jesu, meine Lust -- twice
Heut triumphiret Gottes Sohn -- twice

The foreword devotes several pages to discussing the value and need of Christianity before coming to the purpose of the collection, which Helmuth states has didactic rather than primarily poetic or musical aims. The texts themselves show a strong pietistic influence, with many of the hymns bearing captions like "The Tears of Jesus," "Feelings of a Dying Man," etc. At least nine of the texts also appear in the 1786 Erbauliche Lieder-Samlung. They are:

Number 1, "Steh, armes Kind! wo eilst du hin?" which is hymn 701 in the 1786 hymnal and is sung to the melody of "Auf, Christen Mensch, auf, auf."

Number 7, "Jehovah! Hirte bist du mir," a paraphrase of the twenty-third Psalm set to "Mein Gott, das Herz ich bringe dir"; number 190 in the 1786 hymnal. The 1813 Choral-Buch, page 34, prints this hymn as though it had its own tune, but the melody is that which Zahn, number 231, identifies as "Du Gott bist über alles Herr."

Number 13, "Hier stehe ich und weine," set to the melody of "Wenn meine Sünd mich [kränken]"; hymn 252 in the 1786 hymnal.

Number 18, "Laut und majestätisch rollet," hymn 672 in the 1786 hymnal and sung to "Prächtig kommt der Herr, mein König." While the 1786 hymnal designates "Prächtig kommt der Herr, mein König" as the melody, "Laut und majestätisch rollet" has what appears to be an original melody of its own in the 1813 Choral-Buch, page 149. This is understandable since the former hymn has a meter of 8,7,8,7,4,4,4,7, whereas the meter of the latter is 8,7,8,7,4,7. Thus, while the two hymns could have been sung to the same basic melody, some adjustment would have been necessary.

Number 21, "Am Grabe bebt, gehüllt in Dunkelheiten," set to "Mein Freund zerschmelzt" and appearing as number 547 in the 1786 hymnal. While the 1813 Choral-Buch lists this hymn as though it had its own melody (page 36), the tune which is printed is actually that to "Mein Freund zerschmelzt."

Number 22, "Mein Heiland! eine Wolke zieht," hymn 705 in the 1786 hymnal and sung to "Mein Herzens Jesu, meine Lust."

Number 27, "Prächtig kommt der Herr, mein König," which has its own tune. The composer of the tune is not known, but it may have been Helmuth himself; it is found with a figured bass in the 1813 Choral-Buch, page 133, and is hymn 619 in the 1786 hymnal.

Number 30, "Von Sinai erthönte," number 103 in the 1786 hymnal and sung to "O Haupt voll Blut." The 1813 Choral-Buch lists this hymn, also, as though it had its own melody, but the tune given is "Christ, alles was dich kränket," Zahn number 5534.

Number 32, "Der Heiland lebt, er drang hervor," set to "Heut triuphiret Gottes Sohn" and listed as hymn 111 in the 1786 hymnal.

Another twenty of the hymns in this collection also appeared in various issues of the Evangelisches Magazin, which was published from 1811-1817 with Helmuth as editor. These included all those hymns which were not inserted in the Erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung with the exception of number 8, "Gleich einem Hirsch"; number 19, "In Traurigkeit zerflossen"; and number 33, "Ich walle noch im Thränenthal." Two of the texts, "Die Sonne scheinet wieder" and "Die Sonne senkt sich dort am Abend nieder" were reprinted by the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society in 1955.[31]

1782. H[enry] H[elmuth], Lobet den Herrn, der zu Zion wohnet ("Praise the Lord, Who Dwells in Zion") (Philadelphia: Melchior Steiner, [1782]). Evans 17569.

Although the Evans bibliography assigns this little four-page pamphlet to J. C. Kunze, the texts were actually written by Helmuth, and the imprint

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[31] Stoudt, The Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, XX, 223-225.

should be credited to him. This is proved both by the initials "H. H." which appear on the title page as well as by an entry in Muhlenberg's diary for September 22, 1782, which reads:

> Services were to be resumed in Zion Church for the first time since it has been rebuilt and better decorated on the inside than it was at the beginning. The Rev. Mr. Kuntze assigned the morning service in Zion to me, and he preached in St. Michael's Church. Before his illness, the Rev. Mr. Helmuth, the second Gellert, had written and had printed several hymns of praise, which the schoolmaster had the schoolchildren sing in the morning and afternoon in Zion. [32]

As Muhlenberg implies, and as the title page says, this pamphlet was issued to commemorate the formal re-opening of Zion on September 22, 1782, after the church had been completely refurnished to erase the damage caused by the British troops in 1777. It contains the texts of three hymns which the schoolchildren sang, and copies were probably distributed to all the members of the congregation. The first of these hymns, "Erhebe, Volk! mit Freudenthränen," consists of four stanzas of eight lines each. The second comprises six verses of six lines each, and begins, "Wir fühlen heute Liebesdrang"; although no tune is indicated in the pamphlet, it also appears as hymn 695 in the 1786 hymnal, where its melody is given as "In dich hab' ich gehoffet, Herr." The third and final text is "Lobe, Zion, lobe deines Herren Thaten," which appears as hymn 694 in the 1786 hymnal, where its tune is given as "Wunderbarer König." This third hymn has three verses of ten lines each, and the final

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[32] Tappert, III, 507.

verse is designated as an answer to the first two, thus indicating that it may have been sung antiphonally.

1783. Auf das Oster-Fest, 1783 ("On the Festival of Easter, 1783").

This small, one-page leaflet does not list a publisher, but the type is similar to that found in some of Melchior Steiner's imprints. It contains a single hymn of four verses with eight lines to each verse; the first verse begins, "Bring Macht und Ruhm und Stärke dar." There is no reference to a melody. Probably Helmuth wrote this text for performance by the schoolchildren at the Easter Sunday service in 1783, and copies of the leaflet were distributed to the congregation both as an aid in following the singing and also as a memento of the service.

1784. Die frohe Weihnachts-Freude, 1784, und Neujahrs-Andacht, 1785, der Evangelischen Lutherischen Singeschule der Gemeine in Zion ("The Joyful Christmas Tidings, 1784, and New Year's Prayer, 1785, of the Evangelical Lutheran Singing School of Zion Congregation") ([Philadelphia]: Melchior Steiner, [1784]).

This single-page leaflet, printed on both sides, comprises three hymn texts, the first two being for Christmas, 1784, and the third for the following New Year's Day. The first hymn, "Heil uns an diesem Tage!" contains three stanzas of twelve lines each, while the second text, "Halleluja, Lob Preis und Ruhm," also has three verses, but with only eight lines in each. The New Year's prayer is "Gott, du bist unsre Zuversicht," a hymn of five verses with seven lines in each. None of the hymns contains reference to a melody. All three were republished in the Evangelisches Magazin, volume II (January, 1813), pages 123-124, and the last two also appear in item 1786B, listed below.

1785A. Die frohe Pfingst-Freude und Andacht der Evangelischen Lutherischen Singeschule der Gemeine in Zion, abgesungen unter der Anführung des Herrn David Otts, 1785 ("The Joyful Pleasure and Prayer of Whitsuntide, Sung under the Direction of Mr. David Ott by the Evangelical Lutheran Singing School of Zion Congregation").

Two short cantata-anthems, both following the structural pattern of chorus-duet-chorus-duet-chorus, are found in this imprint. Judging by the meter, in each case the second duet appears to be a second verse to the first duet, while the second and third choruses, likewise, seem to be the second and third stanzas to the first chorus. This would create a simple, but pleasantly contrasting, ABABA musical structure. Unfortunately there is no reference to music; if standard chorales were used, the very designation "duetto" would imply that someone -- probably schoolmaster Ott -- had arranged the music in a manner other than that of simple chorale singing. The first anthem, or as the leaflet calls it, "Erster Pfingst-Gesang," begins with the line, "Der Geist ist da! Es rauscht der Wind," while the second text opens, "Wie lieblich bist du Tag der Freude." These Whitsunday texts were also printed in the Evangelisches Magazin for 1817, page 86.

1785B. Auf den Tag der Unabhängigkeit der dreyzehn Staaten von Nord-America, den 4ten Julii, 1785 ("On the Day of Independence of the Thirteen States of North America, the 4th of July, 1785").

This is an example of a Fourth of July cantata. The entire text is printed in two columns on one side of a broadside, and a statement beneath the title says that it was sung by the singing school of the Evangelical Lutheran German congregation in Philadelphia, under the direction of Mr. David Ott, the schoolmaster. Since the entire text is given in Appendix E, a detailed description is not necessary, except to note that the second duet

and the solo may have been set to the same music as the first duet, since all three have identical meters. The same is true of the three verses designated "chorus." The final hymn, "Dis ist der Tag," was undoubtedly a chorus, though it is not so designated; the original imprint was short of space and appears to have dropped the heading from this hymn in an attempt to squeeze the text into the allotted section of the sheet.

1786A. Folgende Ordnung wird heute, als am 12ten October, 1786, bey der Vocal Musik unserer Singeschule, und Rede-Uebung verschiedener Studenten und Schüler der hiesigen Deutschen Academie, in Zion gehalten werden.

These exercises were held for the fall examination in the German school connected with Zion Church, and have been discussed above on page 169.

1786B. Die ersten Früchte der Singeschule der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Gemeine in Philadelphia (Philadelphia: Melchior Steiner, 1786). Evans 19630.

Helmuth mentioned this publication in a letter to H. M. Muhlenberg dated August 11, 1786, wherein he states that he is enclosing "a printed fascicle of so-called spiritual songs which are the first fruits of the singing school of the Evangelical Lutheran congregation in Philadelphia."[33] On October 20 of 1786 Muhlenberg says that he received three more copies of "The First Fruits" from Dr. Helmuth.[34] The church council printed this booklet to be given to the schoolchildren at their fall examination (probably the exercises listed in 1786A). The preface says that the booklet's aims

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[33] Tappert, III, 714.

[34] Ibid., p. 719.

are fivefold: (1) to inspire the students to proper diligence, (2) to make them better acquainted with their best Friend and Savior, (3) to incite them to praise and honor Jesus, who is especially pleased by praise from the lips of children, (4) to stimulate the students' parents and relatives to support the singing school, and (5) to remind the students of the noteworthy example of love manifested by the wife of a Lutheran preacher in Brandenburg, who left a legacy to the school, the interest of which paid for the printing of this booklet. The preface is signed "D. H. M. M." (Dr. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg), "J. Ch. H. H." (Justus Christian Henry Helmuth), and "J. F. S." (John Frederick Schmidt). Muhlenberg was pastor emeritus, while Schmidt was assistant pastor to Helmuth.

The booklet contains twenty-eight pages plus four prefatory pages (counting the title page). None of the hymns has reference to a melody. The contents include:

1. "Ich walle stündlich näher hin."

2. "Vergebung, Herr, ich mir begehr." This text also is found in 1785B, where it is designated as an aria.

3. Whitsunday prayer: "Herr, dein Ruhm." This is an alternation of what must be two different hymns in the pattern of chorus-duet-chorus-duet-chorus, much like the texts for Pentecost in 1785A.

4. "Triumph! Triumph! Er ist erschienen."

5. "Ich sinke hin, Du hebst mich auf." The same text is mentioned in both 1786A and in 1787B, being the fifth number in both cases.

6. "Sieh! in Demuth fall ich nieder," which is reprinted in the third volume of the Evangelisches Magazin (July, 1814), page 247.

7. Good Friday prayer, arranged in the manner of an echo: "Stirbst du, mein Heiland" (cf. 1786A). It isn't completely clear how the echo effect was intended, but it was probably achieved by some of the repetitions which appear in the text. The text itself consists of a chorus of eight lines followed by a duet of four lines. This chorus-duet arrangement is repeated three times (i. e. making a total of three verses, or six verses if one considers the duet a separate hymn). The text is somewhat unusual in closing with the duet rather than the chorus.

8. "Dort auf jenem Todten-Hügel," which is answered by a text designated "duetto" and in a different meter, beginning, "Schau auf, ich büsse deine Sünden." These two texts alternate chorus-duet-chorus-duet-chorus-duet-solo, with the final solo having the same meter as the choruses. "Dort auf jenem Todten-Hügel" also appears as hymn 76 in the 1786 hymnal, where it is said to be set to its own melody. A choral arrangement for three voices is found in Schmauk's 1824 tunebook, number 85 (see example 1).

9. "Dies sind die bangen Stunden."

10. "Es sturmen tausend Sorgen," first printed in 1785B.

11. "Mein Heiland, habe auf mich Acht."

12. "Hilf mir, Herr! aus dem Verderben"; mentioned in 1786A.

13. "Mein Heiland, ich Virirrter komme wieder."

14. "Mein Gott, dein Lob sey jede Stund."

AUF DIE PASSIONSZEIT

LANGSAM MIT GEFUHL

EXAMPLE 1

ACH, ICH ARMES JUNG AN JAHREN

EXAMPLE 2

INDEPENDENT MUSIC PUBLISHERS

15. "Auf, Seele, halte dich gefasst"; mentioned in both 1786A and 1787B.

16. "Traurig denkend steh ich hier."

17. "Triumph! des Grabes Siegel bricht."

18. "Der Tag ist hin, mein Gott! wie bald"; mentioned in both 1786A and 1787B.

19. "Gott, du bist unsre Zuversicht"; first printed in 1784 and reprinted in the Evangelisches Magazin, volume II (January, 1813), page 124.

20. Two Christmas hymns: "Heil uns an diesem Tage!" and "Halleluja, Lob, Preis und Ruhm." These two texts were first printed in item 1784; both were reprinted in the Evangelisches Magazin, volume II (January, 1813), page 123.

21. "Wie schön ist doch das Band der Liebe"; mentioned in 1786A and reprinted in the Evangelisches Magazin, volume III (July, 1814), page 248.

1787A. Auf den Tod des entschlafenen Vater Mühlenbergs ("On the Death of Father Muhlenberg, Now Asleep").

This single-page leaflet, printed with an ornamented black border, contains two hymns which Helmuth wrote for Muhlenberg's memorial service held in Zion on October 21, 1787. (Muhlenberg's actual funeral service was at Providence on October 10.) The first hymn, "Stimmt heute dumpfe Trauerlieder," has four verses of six lines each, while the second, "Zion singet Trauerthöne," contains three verses with eight lines in each verse. Both hymns are also found in the memorial booklet to Muhlenberg issued

in 1788. Since neither mentions a melody, it is possible that the choir sang these hymns and that copies were distributed to the congregation so that they would be able to follow the text. Although it is by no means a definite rule, usually texts intended for congregational singing mention a tune or a melody, whereas those intended for the choir do not contain such a reference. This assumption seems to be supported by a report in the Gemeinnützige Philadelphische Correspondenz for October 30, 1787, which mentions the memorial services for Muhlenberg in St. Michael's and Zion Churches. It states that both churches held services, but that the worship in Zion was accompanied with appropriate funeral music ("mit einer schicklichen Trauer-Musik in Zion"). Since both services would have included regular congregational hymn singing, this special reference to the music in Zion must have been to a number or numbers by the choir, perhaps represented by the texts in this leaflet.

1787B. Ordnung der Rede-Uebungen in der Zions-Kirche, den 29sten November, 1787, von deutschen und englischen Kindern ("Order of the Oration Exercises by German and English Children in Zion Church on the 29th of November, 1787").

Here is another printed program for the fall exercises in the German school, similar to that listed under 1786A. No hymn texts, other than first lines, are included. We have already discussed this program above.

1788. Denkmal der Liebe und Achtung welches seiner Hochwürden, dem Herrn D. Heinrich Melchior Muhlenberg, verdienstvollesten Senior des Evangelisch-Lutherischen Ministeriums in Nord-America und treueifrigsten ersten Lehrers an der St. Michaelis und Zions-Gemeinde in Philadelphia ist gesetzt worden ("Memorial of the Love and Esteem Which Has Been Expressed for His Reverence, the Dr. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, the Most Meritorious Senior of the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium in North America and the Most Truly Zealous First Pastor of

St. Michael's and Zion's Congregation in Philadelphia") (Philadelphia: Melchior Steiner, 1788). Evans 21139.

St. Michael's and Zion Corporation published this booklet in 1788 as a memorial to the late H. M. Muhlenberg. It opens with four verses of "Trauer-Music" beginning, "Stimmt heute dumpfe Trauerlieder" (first published in 1787A). These verses conclude with a chorale, whose first line is "Wie sanft sehn wir den Frommen." The next twenty-odd pages contain the text of the sermon which Helmuth preached at the memorial service on the previous October 21. Thereafter we find two verses of a chorale, "Die Engel steigen nieder," followed in turn by three more verses of funeral music beginning, "Zion singet Trauerthöne" (first published in 1787A). The remainder of the booklet is devoted to a fairly complete biography of Muhlenberg and several examples of mourning poetry, undoubtedly by Helmuth.

1790A. Lieder.

A paragraph beneath the simple title of Lieder informs us that this eight-page pamphlet was a little brother to the 1786 "First Fruits" publication. The publisher was undoubtedly either Michael Billmeyer or Melchior Steiner, since these two men almost exclusively handled the publishing needs of the Philadelphia Lutherans at this time. The introductory paragraph is addressed to the children and says that this booklet is a gift from some members of the congregation who genuinely love them, and its aim is that they may more and more practice singing as an aid in becoming Godly children. It contains four hymns: (1) "Das Herze klopft, wir freuen uns," a text of three verses in long meter; (2) "Komm hernieder, Geist von oben,"

two verses of nine lines each which were reprinted in the texts for the afternoon service of November 27, 1796, for the re-opening of Zion after the fire; (3) "Seele, falle staunend nieder," two verses of eight lines each; and (4) "Getrost! auf deiner Pilgrims-Bahn," a hymn of three verses with five lines in each. None of the texts has reference to a melody.

1790B. Lob und Anbetung des Gottmenschen am Tage der Einweihung der neuen Orgel in der Deutschen Evangelisch Lutherischen Zions Kirche in Philadelphia, den 10 October, 1790 (Germantaun: Michael Billmeyer, 1790).

We have already discussed this pamphlet, which was issued for the dedication of the Tannenberg organ.

1790C. Auf den ersten Advents Sontag. Den 28 November, 1790 ("On the First Sunday of Advent, November 28, 1790").

These texts comprise a four-page pamphlet divided into three principal parts. The first part, as the title says, consists of texts which the choir sang on the first Sunday in Advent, 1790; part two is for Christmas and is entitled "Auf das Fest der Menschwerdung Jesu"; the third part is devoted to a short New Year's hymn with the title, "Auf den Neuen Jahrs Tag, 1791." Copies of the Christmas text, published as a separate leaflet, are found in the archives of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, thus indicating that it may have been intended as a separate imprint from that for the first Sunday in Advent.

During the last part of 1790 the dedication of the new organ provided a powerful incentive to musical programs in Zion Church. These texts represent part of this increased activity. Helmuth's diary for November of 1790 contains frequent mention of rehearsals of the singing school and

conferences with Mr. Moller, the organist. Under the date of November 28, the first Sunday in Advent, the diary briefly states: "The music went very well," referring, of course, to the Advent texts in this pamphlet.

Since the texts of the music for this service are found in Appendix F, a detailed description is not necessary, except to call attention to the fact that the two arias and the two recitatives have, respectively, the same meters, and were probably sung to the same music. The arrangement of the texts in the order of chorus-recitative-aria-recitative-aria-recitative-chorale, makes this a true cantata. Since Moller was organist at this time, he probably arranged the music himself, and may have embellished the cantata with short organ preludes, interludes, etc.

The second cantata text, "Auf das Fest der Menschwerdung Jesu," is also given in Appendix F. It was probably sung on Christmas Day, since item 1790D was used on the day preceding Christmas. Its form is somewhat more involved than is true of Helmuth's earlier texts, which would seem to indicate that the music, too, was more of what we would consider to be a true cantata rather than simply a program of chorales. Both the texts for the first Sunday in Advent and for Christmas are reprinted in the Evangelisches Magazin, volume IV, part 3 (1817), pages 81 and 82.

"Auf den Neuen Jahrs Tag, 1791" comprises only two short verses of four lines each. The first verse, "Zählet einmal Tag und Stunden," is designated as a solo, while the second stanza is for the choir. There is no reference to music or a melody.

1790D. Zum 24sten December, 1790 ("On the 24th of December, 1790").

This four-page pamphlet appears to be the complete text of a special service of music held in Zion on the day before Christmas. It is of particular interest because of the manner in which the congregation is integrated into the musical performance as active participants and not just as passive listeners. This is, of course, partly true in the regular cantatas in which the congregation joined in singing the final chorus, but the degree of congregational participation is far greater in this particular service, as a glance at the texts in Appendix G will immediately prove. Another point of interest in addition to the alternation between the choir and congregation is the fact that the service calls for two choirs -- one comprised of children and the other being the regular church choir. The children's choir, the regular choir, and the congregation join together only in the final amen and hallelujah. One regrets that not a single reference to music or chorale melodies occurs throughout the entire pamphlet, so one can only speculate as to the music which was used during this particular service.

1791A. Die Spuren der Güte Gottes in der Deutschen Evangelisch Lutherischen Gemeinde in Philadelphia ("The Vestiges of the Goodness of God in the German Evangelical Lutheran Congregation in Philadelphia") (Germantaun: Michael Billmeyer, 1791). Evans 23697.

After the dedication of the Tannenberg organ in Zion Church, a movement began among the Philadelphia Lutherans to redecorate old St. Michael's Church, which had almost been forgotten amid all the attention that was being lavished upon the larger and more impressive sister church. Children of the congregation gathered funds to gild the front pipes of the organ in

St. Michael's, and soon a general redecoration was under way. The renovation was completed in the spring of 1791, and as a memento of the special services on April 3, 1791, the congregation printed this thirty-six page booklet. The first thirty pages comprise a history of the congregation, while the musical texts which Helmuth wrote for the occasion begin on page 31.

The first musical number has nine verses composed of two different hymns in alternation. The singing school began with "Dich, Gott! zu loben, o, wie schön." Although the tune is not indicated in the printed pamphlet, Helmuth's diary for March 7, 1791, contains this same text and states that the melody is "Mein Herzens Jesu, meine Lust." The congregation answered this verse with the first stanza of "Ja, treuer Hirte, weide du," set to the melody of "Mein Gott, das Herz ich bringe dir." The school children and the congregation continued to alternate verses from these two hymns until the ninth and final stanza (which was actually the fifth verse to "Dich, Gott! zu loben"), whereupon both the singing school and the congregation joined together in raising their hymn of praise. The second text is "Gedenket, o, Deutsche! der Wunder des Herrn," a hymn of nine verses which also is organized antiphonally. The second, fourth, sixth, and eighth verses are designated as the "answer," while the ninth verse predictably calls for both antiphonal groups to sing together. There is no indication as to whether the answer involved the choir and congregation, as is most likely, or whether two groups within the choir or within the congregation were involved. Both these numbers, the first alternating between two

different hymns and the second calling for alternation between two groups within the same hymn, provide an excellent example of the way in which hymns were "dressed up" so as to acquire a distinctive and more effective flavor. This practice was characteristic not only of the Philadelphia congregation, but of Lutheran settlements in America generally. The text of "Gedenket, o, Deutsche!" appears in Helmuth's diary for March 10, 1791, and also in the Evangelisches Magazin, volume I (January, 1812), pages 107-109.

Helmuth's diary for March, 1791, gives an insight into the planning which went into such a musical program as this. Under the dates of March 7 and March 10 we find the texts themselves as Helmuth probably left them after a definite first draft. Originally Helmuth intended to have two verses of "Ja, treuer Hirte, weide du" alternate with each verse of "Dich, Gott! zu loben," since this is the way it appears in his diary. He must have later decided to drop half the verses from the former hymn. On March 9 he held a conference with Billmeyer concerning the booklet, and Billmeyer estimated that printing costs would come to eight pounds. On the eleventh Helmuth recorded that three thousand copies were to be printed, but still on March 16 he wrote that "the little publication for St. Michael's was not completely finished." Billmeyer again visited Helmuth on March 31 to make some final arrangements. Then on Friday, April 1, Helmuth mentions two different rehearsals in St. Michael's, including an evening rehearsal. The fact that Billmeyer was to print three thousand copies of this pamphlet obviously shows that they were to be distributed

to members of the congregation.

1791B. Ueber die Geburt Jesu auf Weynachten 1791, und auf das Neue Jahr 1792 ("On the Birth of Jesus, Christmas, 1791, and on the New Year, 1792").

This four-page pamphlet contains a cantata text written for Christmas of 1791. The order of music was:

1. Chorale by the congregation: "Sey uns willkommen, Du König der Ehren"; one verse sung to the melody of "Lobet den Herren."

2. Solo by a shepherd: "Seht! welch' ein Glanz; seht dort, o. Brüder!" One verse of four lines.

3. Duet, apparently by two shepherds: "Welch' Wunder, Gott! o, welche Nacht!" Two lines of text.

4. All shepherds: "O Gott! -- ach hilf -- ein Engel -- seht"; two lines of text.

5. The angel: "Nein, theure Brüder, fliehet nicht"; two verses of four lines each.

6. First choir of the heavenly host: "Ehre sey Gott in der Himmels Höhe"; complete text.

7. Second choir of the heavenly host: "Friede auf der ganzen Erde"; complete text.

8. Both choirs: "Wohlgefallen in der Nähe
Bey der frohen Menschenheerde."

9. Congregation: two more verses to the opening chorale.

10. Chorus: "Erwecke dich, Zion! zum Loben und Preisen"; two verses of six lines each.

11. Aria: "Sey Willkommen, Freund der Seelen"; one verse of six lines.

Like many of his hymn and cantata texts, Helmuth worked out these verses in his diary, starting with the entry for November 22, 1791. On November 25 he made several revisions. It appears as though he thought of numbers two through eight as a unit, which would make considerable sense, since these are the verses concerning the appearance of the angels to the shepherds. The final chorus and aria (numbers 10 and 11) must have been added later, and, indeed, may have been separated from the remainder of the music during the actual performance. Unfortunately the diary does not give any information concerning the nature of the music, except that the fifth number, "Nein, theure Brüder, fliehet nicht," is marked "fugal." Since the text concerns fleeing, it seems likely that the music had some type of imitation symbolizing flight, hence the designation "fugal." Although there is nothing in either Helmuth's diary or the published pamphlet to indicate that this was anything other than a cantata text, one can not help wondering whether the story of the shepherds might not have been dramatized as well as sung. The text is certainly arranged so as to provide opportunity for a limited amount of dramatization.

The performance must have been a musical success, since in the Neue Philadelphische Correspondenz for December 30, 1791, G. F. Goetz has a poem entitled, "Feelings at the Conclusion of the Evangelical Lutheran Public Worship on Last Sunday evening." It begins thus:

Inexpressible emotion! Words can hardly grasp it,
Was it real -- or was it a dream?
It seemed as if from angel choirs
I heard the Christmas song on high,
Which once stirred pious shepherds
    On that blessed night
    When from God's splendor and might
He clothed himself in human garb...

Although the original will not elevate Goetz to the rank of a laureate, it is only fair to give this text as he originally wrote it:

Unnenbares Gefühl! die Sprach fasst sich kaum,
War's wirklich -- oder war's ein Traum?
Mir dünkte von den Engel-Chören
Den hohen Weihgesang zu hören,
Der fromme Hirten einst erfüllte,
    In jener segenvollen Nacht,
    Da eines Gottes Glanz und Macht
Sich ins Gewand der Menschheit hüllte...

The poem continues for several more lines, but they are not relevant to this particular performance.

1793A. Ein Geschenk für die Kinder, von den Gliedern des Kirchenraths der St. Michaelis- und Zions Gemeinde in Philadelphia ("A Gift for the Children, from the Members of the Church Council of St. Michael's and Zion's Congregation in Philadelphia") (Philadelphia: Steiner und Kämmerer, 1793).

Here is another "gift for the children," consisting of a pamphlet of eight pages of musical texts. Unlike the previous children's collections, these are exclusively anthem or cantata rather than chorale texts. There is one short cantata or anthem for each of the festivals of Good Friday, Easter, Pentecost, and Trinity.

Good Friday texts:

1. First choir: "Gott! Er schon todt! wie laut Er sprach"; one verse of six lines.

2. Aria by Mary Magdalene: "Ich sah' es, ach! ein schwerer Hammer"; one verse of six lines.

3. Aria by the mother of Jesus: "Mein Sohn, mein Sohn! du bist verblichen!" The meter is the same as that in the aria by Mary Magdalene.

4. Second choir: "Ja, Er ist todt! kommt! weint den Schmerz"; judging from the meter, it is a second verse to the first number.

5. Congregation: "Erwürgtes Lamm! ich bitte Dich"; one verse sung to the melody of "Mir nach, spricht Christus."

Easter texts:

1. First choir: "Heil uns, Er ist vom Tod' erstanden!" One verse of six lines.

2. Aria: "Wohl mir! ich walle nun getrost zum Grabe"; two verses of six lines each. (Cf. the first aria in item 1794, Appendix H.)

3. Second choir: "Wohl uns! bald ruh'n hier uns're Glieder"; one verse of six lines, undoubtedly an answer to the immediately preceding aria.

Whitsunday texts:

1. Chorus: "Er kommt, der Geist vom hohen Throne"; one verse of six lines. (Although the opening choruses for Good Friday, Easter, and Whitsunday all have six lines, they are in respectively different meters, so could not have been sung to the same music.)

2. Aria: Sey willkommen, süsser Gast!" Four verses of six lines each. According to a remark in his diary, Helmuth wrote both this

and the preceding chorus on May 29, 1791; the texts also appear under this date.

3. Chorus: "Er kommt und füllt der Jünger Herzen"; this is a second verse to the first chorus.

Texts for Trinity Sunday:

1. Chorus: "Fasst Sünder! fasst das Friedens-Wort"; one verse of ten lines.

2. Aria: "Meint denn Jesus auch mich Armen"; one verse of eight lines.

The texts in this pamphlet were reprinted in the Evangelisches Magazin, volume III (July, 1814), pages 241-242 and pages 244-245. The Whitsunday songs were printed separately under the title, Auf das Heil. Pfingstfest 1793 ("On the Holy Festival of Pentecost, 1793"), forming a small leaflet that probably was distributed to the congregation on this date.

1793B. Bey dem Grabe der würdigen Gattin seiner Wohlehrwürden des Herrn Pastor Friederich Schmidts, welche den 6ten Julii, 1793, beerdigt wurde ("By the Grave of His Reverence Pastor Frederick Schmidt's Worthy Wife, Who Was Buried on the 6th of July, 1793").

There are three verses of eight lines each in this poem, which may have been sung as a hymn. Helmuth wrote a considerable amount of poetry in addition to hymn, anthem, and cantata texts, and sometimes it is impossible to tell whether or not a given verse was actually sung. This same text, which begins "Von deiner Höh', Gott! schau herab," also appears in the Philadelphische Correspondenz for July 9, 1793, which might indicate that the leaflet was printed by the same publishers who printed the paper, namely Steiner and Kämmerer.

1793C. J. Heinrich C. Helmuth, Kurze Nachricht von den sogenannten gelben Fieber in Philadelphia für den nachdenkenden Christen ("Short Account of the So-Called Yellow Fever in Philadelphia, for the Thinking Christian") (Philadelphia: Steiner und Kämmerer, 1793). Evans 25595.

Helmuth's report of the 1793 yellow fever epidemic in Philadelphia is of interest to our purposes only because the unnumbered pages in the back of this book contain a hymn of nine verses which Helmuth wrote for the burial of his friend, Johann Hermann Winkhaus, Reformed pastor, who was buried October 7, 1793. This hymn is set to the melody of "O Haupt voll Blut" and begins, "Nun fliesse, heisse Thräne!" It is reprinted in Rev. H. Harbaugh's The Fathers of the German Reformed Church in Europe and America.[35]

1794. J. H. C. Helmuth and J. C. Moller, Dank und Gebet am Tage der Einweihung der Deutsch Evangel. Lutherischen Kirche in Reading den 15 Juny 1794 ("Thanks and Devotion on the Day of the Dedication of the German Evangelical Lutheran Church in Reading, the 15th of June, 1794"). This is one of the most interesting of Helmuth's imprints because it not only contains the verses which he wrote for the dedication of the church in Reading, but also the music which J. C. Moller wrote for the occasion. The music and texts are found in Appendix H, and further discussion of this eight-page pamphlet will occur when we consider church activities at Reading in the next chapter.

1796. Lieder abgesungen in der Zions-Kirche den 27sten November, 1796 ("Hymns Sung in Zion Church on the 27th of November, 1796") (Philadelphia: Steiner und Kämmerer, 1796).

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[35] (Lancaster: J. M. Westhaeffer, 1872), II, 322-324.

When Zion Church was re-opened for services after the disastrous fire of 1794, the choir and congregation sang the texts printed in this thirteen-page pamphlet. (Cf. page 194 above.)

1798. Trauer-Music, auf den Abschied des seel. Herrn Doct. Hendels, den 9ten December, 1798 ("Funeral Music on the Death of the Saintly Doctor Hendel, the 9th of December, 1798").

Three hymn texts occur in this little four-page pamphlet (only three pages actually contain printing, however). The first is "Herr, welch' ein Schlag! die Heerde weint," while the second opens with the line, "Lebensfunke, den Gott schus"; neither has reference to a tune. What appears to be a short third hymn comprising two verses of three lines each occurs immediately after the second. The first line of the text is "Ich seh Ihn, Er, mein Herr ist da."

[1799]. Gesang am Schlusse des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts ("Hymn for the Close of the Eighteenth Century").

Helmuth wrote some sort of text for almost every important event and church festival in the life of the Philadelphia congregation, so it is not surprising that he also published a hymn in honor of the new century. This hymn, "Auf, versammelt euch in Tempeln," contains twelve verses sung to the familiar "Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme." These verses appear on six pages of this eight-page pamphlet, the other two pages remaining blank. Although there is no publication date, it was probably printed toward the close of 1799.

1800. Klagen über den Tod des General Waschingtons am 22sten Februar 1800, in dem Deutsch Evangelisch Lutherischen Zion, zu Philadelphia ("Lamentation over the Death of General Washington, Held on the 22nd of February, 1800, in the German Evangelical Lutheran Zion Church in Philadelphia"). Evans 37603.

After the death of Washington virtually every city in the United States held memorial services during the next several weeks. Zion was not only the scene of the official ceremonies, but on the anniversary of Washington's birthday another memorial service was held, as indicated by this little pamphlet of four pages. Although no music is mentioned, both poems in this pamphlet were probably sung during the service. The first hymn, "Mitten unter Freud und Leiden," contains three verses of eight lines each, while the second, "Bange, dunkle Tage senken," has four verses in the same meter, perhaps indicating that both were sung to the same melody. The texts of these hymns appear in Helmuth's diary for January 11 and 13, 1800. The diary refers to the first text as being for the singing school, thus confirming that these verses were undoubtedly intended for singing, and not just for poetry.

1801. Am Feste der Heil. Dreyeinigkeit 1801 in der Deutsch Evangel. Lutherischen Zions Kirche ("On the Festival of the Holy Trinity, 1801, in the German Evangelical Lutheran Zion Church") ([Philadelphia]: G. Helmbold und J. Geyer, [1801]).

This pamphlet contains what must have been a complete musical service for Trinity Sunday, arranged as follows:

1. Under the title of "Easter Joy," the first hymn is "Gott! welch' ein froher Morgen," consisting of two verses, probably for chorus.

2. Aria: "Mein Herr und Gott! ich glaub an dich"; two verses of seven lines each.

3. The next stanzas are designated "Cantate," and include: "Also hat Gott die Welt geliebt," one verse of six lines; a solo of five lines beginning, "Ja, ja also geliebt die Welt"; and a chorus of eight lines, "Auf Geister des

Himmels und Bürger der Erde!"

4. Granting of the Holy Spirit: "Hört! ein Wind vom Himmels Throne"; three verses. Although the pamphlet itself contains no reference to a melody, a faintly penciled notation in German script says that the tune is "Alle Menschen müssen sterben."

5. Adoration of Jesus: "Sanft schallt die Stimme Gottes, hört"; two verses. This hymn is reprinted in the Evangelisches Magazin, volume IV, part 3 (1817), page 87.

6. "Komm, heil'ger Geist, erfüll die Herzen"; two verses, first printed in 1785A and reprinted in the Evangelisches Magazin, volume IV, part 3 (1817), page 86.

7. "Hallelujah, das Siegel bricht"; three verses. A notation written in ink in German script says that the melody is "Ein feste Burg."

8. "Herr Jesu, presse Freuden Thränen"; three verses of six lines each. A handwritten notation reads that the melody is "Wer nur den lieben Gott [lässt wahlten]."

Numbers four through eight of the above appear to have been either choruses or hymns for congregational singing; the pamphlet does not specify which was the case.

1802. Charfreitags und Oster Lieder, für die eingesegneten Erstlinge und die Schul-Kinder der Evangel. Lutherischen Gemeinde ("Hymns for Good Friday and Easter, for the New Confirmands and the School Children of the Evangelical Lutheran Congregation") (Philadelphia: Johann Geyer, 1802).

As the title says, this four-page pamphlet contains Good Friday and Easter Hymns for the confirmands and the school children. The hymn for Good

Friday begins, "Ach! Er ist todt, mein Herr und Gott!" and is sung to the melody of "O Traurigkeit, o Herzeleid." It comprises nine verses, with the last being designated as the "answer of the first-communicants." The text of this hymn appears in Helmuth's diary for April 12, 1802, where he adds that he took these verses to Becker and Geyer so that twenty-five hundred copies could be printed and distributed to the congregation. On April 14 Helmuth again mentions conferring with Geyer and his proof-reader concerning this pamphlet. The Easter hymn is "Jesus Christus ist erstanden," three verses sung to the melody of "Dort auf jenem Todtenhügel," one of Helmuth's most popular hymns.

1805A. Empfindungen am Heil. Todes- und Auferstehungs-Tage des Herrn Jesu ("Feelings on the Holy Death and Ressurrection of the Lord Jesus") (Philadelphia: Johann Geyer, 1805).

Three hymns occur in this little four-page pamphlet. They are:

1. "Auf, trage nur die Bürde weiter"; five verses of six lines each.

2. "Der Heiland lebt, Er ist erstanden"; three verses in the same meter as the first hymn.

3. "Er lebt--seyd froh! der Heiland lebt"; three verses of five lines each. None of these hymns has reference to a melody.

1805B. Auf das heil. Pfingstfest, 1805 ("On the Holy Festival of Pentecost, 1805") ([Philadelphia]: J. Geyer, [1805]).

This is a single hymn of seven verses which are divided into three groups:

1. Call to the children: "Kommt, Kinder! kommt betend, kommt zum Thron der Gnade"; three verses.

2. Answer of the children: "Nun, komm, denn, Herr Jesu! komm in uns're Herzen"; two verses.

3. Encouragement for praise: "Auf, Brüder! seyd frölich, singet eure Lieder"; two verses.

In all probability the congregation or the choir sang the first three verses, the children answered with the fourth and fifth stanzas, while everyone joined in singing the final two verses. There are eight lines of text in each verse.

1805C. Auf das heil. Weyhnachtsfest, 1805, in der Deutsch Evangel. Lutherischen Kirche von den Kindern abgesungen ("On the Holy Festival of Christmas, 1805, Sung by the Children in the German Evangelical Lutheran Church") ([Philadelphia]: Johann Geyer, [1805]).

Here is another four-page pamphlet of texts for the children to sing. The hymn for Christmas, "Freude, Freude über Freude!" has four verses sung to "Alle Menschen müssen sterben," while a second hymn for New Year's Day begins, "Welch ein Wechsel uns'rer Tage," and is sung to "Dort auf jenem Todtenhügel" (the imprint reads "Todes-Hügel"). This New Year's hymn appears as number 583 in the Deutsches Gesangbuch of 1849, sometimes known as the Wollenweber hymnal, after the publisher.

1806A. Am Charfreytage -- 1806 and Auf Ostern -- 1806 ("On Good Friday -- 1806" and "On Easter -- 1806").

There are two hymns in this four-page pamphlet. The Good Friday text begins, "Ach, sehet! welch' ein Mensch ist das," and has six stanzas sung to "Nun giebt mein Jesus gute Nacht." The Easter hymn, "Jesus lebt, Er ist erstanden," is sung to "Alle Menschen müssen sterben" and contains four verses. Helmuth entered these texts in his diary for February 27 and 28, 1806.

1806B. Auf das heilige Pfingstfest, 1806 ("On the Holy Festival of Pentecost, 1806").

This single-page leaflet, printed on both sides, contains one hymn of six verses beginning, "Nun walle fort, belad'nes Herze," which is sung to the melody of "Wer nur den lieben Gott lässt walten." It was reprinted in the Evangelisches Magazin, volume I (July, 1812), page 243.

1807A. Auf Charfreytag und Ostern, 1807 ("On Good Friday and Easter, 1807") ([Philadelphia]: Conrad Zentler, [1807]).

Unlike most of the other Helmuth imprints, which merely contain a text without any other decorations on the pages, this one-page leaflet has an ornamented border shaped like an archway which surrounds two hymns. At the top of the archway there is a drawing of a chubby cherub emerging from a cloud and holding a banner reading, "Hallelujah." The first hymn, "Erwürgtes Lamm am Creutz erhöht," is for Good Friday and contains four verses in long meter. The second, "Willkommen verklärter Besieger der Feinde," has two verses of eight lines in a very irregular meter.

1807B. Auf das heilige Pfingstfest. 1807 ("On the Holy Festival of Pentecost, 1807") ([Philadelphia]: C. Zentler, [1807]).

This leaflet, printed only on one side, contains a single hymn of seven verses which begins, "Herr, ein Häuflein deiner Kleinen." The verses alternate: choir-answer-choir-answer-choir-answer-tutti. Each verse contains only four lines of text, and it is not specified whether the answer is by a soloist or the congregation.

1807C. J. H. Ch. H[elmuth], Auf das heilige Christfest, 1807 ("On the Holy Festival of Christmas, 1807") ([Philadelphia]: Conrad Zentler, [1807]).

Another single-page leaflet. It contains one Christmas hymn, "Jauchzt Ihm alle heut, ihr Sünder," which has six verses of eight lines each.

1808A. Auf das heilige Pfingstfest ("On the Holy Festival of Pentecost") ([Philadelphia]: C. Zentler, [1808]).

Here, again, is a single-page leaflet, printed on both sides, which contains a Whitsuntide hymn, "Herr, wir sind heut' auch beysammen." It has four verses with eight lines in each.

1808B. Bey Einweihung der Deutsch Evangelisch-Lutherischen Zions-Kirche in Baltimore auf den 9ten October, 1808 ("On the Dedication of the German Evangelical Lutheran Zion's Church in Baltimore on the 9th of October, 1808") (Baltimore: Warner und Hanna, 1808).

This pamphlet contains the order of worship for the dedication of Zion Church in Baltimore. We shall consider it in detail in the following chapter.

1808C. Auf das Fest der Geburt und Menschwerdung Jesu Christi, 1808, und auf Neue Jahr, 1809 ("On the Festival of the Birth and Incarnation of Jesus Christ, 1808, and on the New Year, 1809") (Philadelphia: Conrad Zentler, [1808]).

The three printed pages of this four-page pamphlet contain the texts for two hymns. The Christmas hymn, "Bringet Dank; tönet lauten Lobgesang," has four verses of five lines each; the New Year's hymn, "Schnell entfliehen uns're Tage," has a single verse of eight lines.

1809A. Auf den Charfreytag und das heilige Osterfest, 1809 ("On Good Friday and the Festival of Easter, 1809") (Philadelphia: Conrad Zentler, [1809]).

Two hymn texts appear on three pages of this four-page pamphlet. The first is for Good Friday and the second for Easter. The Good Friday hymn, "Tag der Schmerzen, Tag der Schmerzen, du bist heilig, hehr," has four verses of five lines; the last verse was to be sung by the first communicants.

The Easter hymn is a short text of six lines beginning, "Wischt alle, wischt die Thränen ab."

1809B. Auf das heilige Pfingstfest. 1809 ("On the Holy Festival of Pentecost, 1809") ([Philadelphia]: C. Zentler, [1809]).

A single hymn of five verses with six lines to a verse, "Heiland, schenke aus Erbarmen," appears on both sides of this little leaflet.

1810. Samuel Helffenstein, Lieder zur Erbauung ("Hymns for Edification") (Philadelphia: Conrad Zentler, 1810).

Helffenstein was a German Reformed pastor in Philadelphia who published this little book containing eighteen hymns. It is of interest to us because it includes an "Anhang" of two additional hymns written by "J. H. C. H." -- undoubtedly Helmuth. The first of these texts, "Mit hohem, warmen Lobgesang," has three verses set to the familiar tune of "Wie schön leuchtet"; it is entitled, "On the Installation of the Church Council." The second text is a children's hymn of six verses set to "Jesus, meine Zuversicht"; it begins, "Jesu, meiner Jugend Lust."

1811. Auf den Tod einer liebenswürdigen Freundin ("On the Death of a Kind Young Lady") ([Philadelphia]: Zentler, [1811]).

The inscription beneath the title of this four-page pamphlet reads: "Sung with deep feeling by the choir of the German Evangelical Lutheran Congregation in Philadelphia on November 3, 1811." The pamphlet says that the young lady who died was one of the choir's foremost singers. These same verses appear in the first issue of the Evangelisches Magazin, volume I (October, 1811), page 59, which gives a little more information concerning the hymn. The magazine states that the verses are in honor of "E. M.," a young lady nineteen years old who was laid to rest on October 28, 1811.

Her voice is said to have been strong, pure, and lovely. The choir sang this hymn after the sermon at her memorial service in Zion Church on November 3.

The hymn itself, "Du eitle Jugend wimmre heut," contains eight verses of seven lines each. Although no tune is indicated, the text is almost identical with hymn 602 in the 1786 hymnal, where the melody is listed as "Mein junges Leben hat [ein End']."

1812A. Auf den Tod ihres unvergesslich theuren Lehrers, Johann Friedrich Schmidt. Abgesungen in der Zions-Kirche, am 31sten May, 1812, von dem Singe-Chor der Deutsch Evangel. Lutherischen Gemeine ("On the Death of Their Incomparably Beloved Pastor, John Frederick Schmidt. Sung by the Choir of the German Evangelical Lutheran Congregation in Zion Church on the 31st of May, 1812") (Philadelphia: Conrad Zentler, [1812]).

Frederick Schmidt was Helmuth's long-time associate as the assistant pastor of the Philadelphia congregation, and the church printed this four-page pamphlet in his memory. The cantata which the choir sang at his memorial service had the following order:

1. "Auferstehn, ja auferstehn wirst du
Mein Staub, nach kurzer Ruh..." Musicians will recognize this text as a hymn by the German poet Frederick Klopstock, which Gustav Mahler used in the last movement of his "Resurrection" symphony. The pamphlet does not say what person or group sang these five verses. Helmuth, of course, was familiar with Klopstock's poetry.

2. Solo: "Wenn man Ihn auf immerhin begrübe"; one verse of five lines.

3. Chorus: "Unser Vater, o du Gott der Liebe"; two lines.

4. Solo: "Er ist nicht auf immerhin begraben"; one verse of five lines.

5. Chorus: "Jesus weckt dereinst die Todten"; two lines. It is possible that the two solos and the two choruses, respectively, might have been sung to the same music, but some minor changes would have had to have been made, since in neither case are the respective meters identical, though they are similar.

1812B. Bey der Antritts-predigt des Wohl-ehrwürdigen Predigers, Herrn Friedrich D. Schäfer. Abgesungen von dem Singe-Chor der St. Michaelis- und Zions-Gemeinde dahier, den 30sten August, 1812 ("With the Inaugural Sermon of the Honorable Preacher, Mr. Frederick D. Schaefer. Sung by the Choir of St. Michael's and Zion Congregation, the 30th of August, 1812").

Rev. Schaefer succeeded Schmidt as associate pastor of the Philadelphia congregation. This pamphlet contains the texts of the two anthems which the choir sang when he preached his inaugural sermon. The first text, "Herr, wir dringen uns zu dir," has two verses in an unusual meter calling for fourteen lines to a stanza. The second text is "O Jesu, Herr der Herrlichkeit"; though no tune is given, its meter is identical with that of "Wie schön leuchtet." It has seven verses.

1814. [J. H. C.] Helmuth, Freude, Dank und Anbetung; abgesungen im Singe-Chor am Tage der Einweihung der Deutsch-Evangelisch-Lutherischen Christ-Kirche in der Stadt York, den Isten May, 1814 ("Joy, Thanks, and Devotion; Sung by the Choir on the Day of the Dedication of the German Evangelical Lutheran Christ Church in the City of York, on the First of May, 1814") (York: D. Billmeyer, [1814]).

We have previously seen that Helmuth extended his creative activities to church dedications at Reading and Baltimore, and here is a third example of his work at the dedication of Christ Church in York. We shall discuss

this particular service in some detail in the next chapter.

1815. Auf Charfreytag und Ostern. 1815 ("On Good Friday and Easter, 1815") ([Philadelphia]: Conrad Zentler, [1815]).

This pamphlet includes two hymns -- "Er kämpft, Er zittert" for Good Friday, and "Sie, die bangen finstern Nächte" for Easter. The first has five verses of eight lines, while the second has four verses, also of eight lines each, but in a different meter. Both hymns were reprinted in the Evangelisches Magazin, volume IV, part 3 (1817), pages 83 and 84.

1816. Auf die Einweihung der Zions-Kirche in Hummelstown, Dauphin County, den 28sten July, 1816 ("On the Dedication of Zion Church in Hummelstown, Dauphin County, the 28th of July, 1816") (Libanon: J. Stöver, 1816).

Probably because it was for a relatively small congregation with limited resources, this dedication service is simpler than some of the others that we have examined. We shall consider the details of this service in the next chapter.

1817. Der 31ste October, 1817, zum feyerlichen Andenken an den 31sten October, 1517, mit Rührung begangen in der St. Michaelis und Zions Gemeinde in Philadelphia ("The 31st of October, 1817, in Festive Remembrance of the 31st of October, 1517, Celebrated with Emotion in St. Michael's and Zion Congregation in Philadelphia") (Philadelphia: Conrad Zentler, 1817).

The first eighteen pages of this eighty-page book contain the musical texts which were sung in Zion Church at the jubilee services commemorating the three-hundredth anniversary of the Reformation. Lutheran churches throughout America made a major effort to celebrate this occasion. The order of music for the morning worship included:

1. Choir: "Schöner Morgen, da das Wort vom Leben laut nun wieder."

2. Congregation: "Tag der reinsten Wonn' und Freud'"; five verses sung to "Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier."

3. Principal hymn: "Heil uns! die Sonne bricht hervor"; sung to the melody of "Heut triumphiret Gottes Sohn." The congregation sang four verses before the sermon and three verses afterwards. In the last verse the choir alone sang the first two lines, the third line was a solo, and the entire congregation joined to sing the final three lines.

4. Choir: An abbreviated "Te Deum laudamus" in German.

The school children were featured during the afternoon worship, which had the following order of music:

1. "Kommt, ihr liebenkleinen Brüder"; sung to the tune of "Herr, ein Häuflein deiner Kleinen." The girls sang the first stanza, the boys the second, all the school children sang the third and fourth stanzas, and the choir joined the children in singing the fifth and last verse.

2. "Wir, wir kleinen Adams-Kinder"; four verses sung to "Gottes Lamm, Du Lämmer Hirte." The program does not say what group sang this hymn, but it was probably the children's choir.

3. After an address to the children, the next hymn was "Ich bin so froh, ich freue mich," which consisted of four verses sung to "Mein Gott! das Herz ich bringe Dir." There is no mention as to who sang this, either.

4. "Ich trage eine schwere Bürde"; the children sang the first three verses, while the choir sang the fourth stanza.

5. After a short examination of the children concerning the

importance of Reformation Day, they sang five verses of "Habe Dank, o mein Erbarmer" to the tune of "Herr, ein Häuflein deiner Kleinen."

6. Closing hymn: "Wie bin ich armes Kind so froh"; the first verse was by the children alone, while the choir joined in singing the final two stanzas.

As was customary on important occasions, there was also an evening service. This was shorter and less elaborate than the preceding services had been. The choir opened the evening worship by singing "Preise, Jerusalem, den Herrn," a text inspired partly by Psalm 150. This same text appears as an anthem for four voices in J. G. Schmauk's Sammlung religioser deutscher Gesaenge..., which we shall discuss below. Though one can not be certain that Schmauk's version was the same arrangement as used on this occasion, it seems likely that this was the case, even though Schmauk was not yet organist of Zion at this time. This seems even more probable when one recalls that Schmauk's tunebook was primarily not of original music, but was instead a compilation of existing choral music. The complete text and music for "Preise, Jerusalem, den Herrn" is in Appendix I. The sermon hymn for the evening worship was "Dies ist der Tag, den Gott uns schuf," sung to "Sey Lob und Ehr dem höchsten Gut," while the hymn after the sermon consisted of four verses from "Jauchzet laut, jauchzet laut dem Herrn zu Ehren." The day's festivities came to a close with the singing of four verses from "Lobet den Höchsten, den Gott aller Götter" to the melody of "Alles was Himmel und Erden umschliesset."

1822. Gesänge bey der Antrittspredigt unsers vielgeliebten Lehrers, des Ehrwürdigen Herrn, C. Demme ("Hymns with the Inaugural Sermon of Our Much-Beloved Pastor, the Honorable C. Demme") (Philadelphia: Conrad Zentler, 1822).

Because of advancing age, Helmuth was no longer able to lead the Philadelphia congregation as actively as he had previously done, and Rev. Demme was installed as an associate who later became Helmuth's successor. Music for this service was arranged in the following manner, as set forth in this seven-page pamphlet:

1. The singing choir (no text is given).

2. Congregation: "Beherrscher deiner Christenheit"; six verses sung to "O heil'ger Geist, kehr [bei uns ein]."

3. The singing choir (again, no number is listed).

4. Pastor and children: a hymn of five verses which was a dialogue between a choir and a soloist. It is not clear whether this dialogue only represented such a conversation, or whether the pastor and a children's choir actually did the singing. The first verse reads:

Chor. Dank, dem Herren, Dank!
Solo. Denn er schickt aus jenem Himmelshöh'n
Seinen Knecht, uns treulich vorzusteh'n.
Chor. Dank, dem Herren, Dank!
Solo. Stimmt in unsern Jubel ein!
Alles soll heut Freude seyn!
Chor. Töne, dem Herrn, Gesang!

5. Closing hymn: "Nun ist er unser, der uns liebt"; four verses sung to "Lobt Gott, ihr Christen, allzugleich." The choir sang the first and third stanzas, while the congregation sang the second and fourth verses.

1824. Gesänge bey der Confirmation am Palmsonntage, 1824, in der Deutschen Lutherischen Zions-Kirche in Philadelphia ("Hymns with the

Confirmation in the German Lutheran Zion Church in Philadelphia on Palm Sunday, 1824") ([Philadelphia]: Conrad Zentler, [1824]).

This was one of the last special services during Helmuth's long and active life. One suspects that where the text is not given, the choir or the congregation sang a regular anthem or hymn, rather than one specially written or arranged for the occasion. The order of service was:

1. The singing choir (no text is given).
2. Congregation: "O Lamm Gottes unschuldig."
3. Prayer before the altar.
4. Congregation: "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden."
5. Sermon.
6. Congregation: "Lehrt die Völker, taufet die"; two verses of six lines each.
7. Prayer and statement before the altar.
8. Congregation: "Sieh! hier stehn die jungen Seelen"; one verse of twelve lines.
9. Confirmands: "Höre das Gebet der Frommen!" This is the second verse of the above hymn; the confirmands sang it as a response.
10. Order of Confirmation.
11. Pastoral statement and prayer.
12. Congregation: "Stärk' uns, Mittler, Dein sind wir!" This verse of fourteen lines has a very irregular meter (e.g. 7, 6, 7, 6, 7, 8, 7, 6, 6, 9, 5, 6, 7, 5). It appears in an arrangement for three voices in Schmauk's 1824 tunebook, number 75 on page 61, where it has the title, "Auf die Confirmation."

13. Benediction.

1825. Gesänge bey der Beerdigung des Hochwürdigen J. H. C. Helmuth ("Hymns on the Burial of the Most Worthy J. H. C. Helmuth"). It seems only appropriate to conclude this discussion of Helmuth hymn, anthem, and cantata imprints with the little pamphlet that was published on his own death. Helmuth's funeral was on February 8, 1825, with services in both Zion and St. Michael's churches. The choir opened the service in Zion by singing a special verse, and after the sermon the school children sang "Christus, der ist mein Leben." At the service in St. Michael's the choir sang "Schlaf im Frieden, schliess in stiller Ruh" just before the sermon.

A special memorial service was held in Zion Church on February 12, at which the music included:

1. Opening hymn in alternation: "Hinab, den ernsten Blick hinab." This was sung to "O Jesu Christ, mein's Lebenslicht"; the congregation sang the first, third, and fifth verses, the choir the second and fourth, and both together sang the sixth stanza.

2. Both before and after the sermon: "Der Herr der Aerndte winket"; four verses sung to the melody of "Ich will dir Abschied geben."

3. Anthem by the choir: "Wenn man Ihn auf immerhin begrübe." The text of this anthem contains five lines of solo answered by two lines of chorus, and then five lines of duet which are again answered by two lines of chorus.

4. Closing hymn: "So geht im Glauben, Hoffen, Lieben"; one verse sung to "Wer nur den lieben Gott."

Among the undated leaflets and pamphlets which probably should be credited to Helmuth are the following:

No date A. Gemeinschaftliche Erbauung solcher Seelen, denen das Seligwerden die Hauptsache ist, und die als geistliche Pilgrime in Gesellschaft mit einander auf dem schmalen Wege des Lebens wallen ("General Edification for Those Souls, for Whom the Main Thing is to Become Holy, and Who Wander in Company with One Another as Spiritual Pilgrims on the Narrow Path of Life").

This little imprint contains a single hymn of sixteen verses, "Auf! Glieder des Bundes, kommt, tretet zusammen." It is divided between two choirs, with the first choir singing verses one through four and nine through twelve, while the second choir sings five through eight and thirteen through fifteen. Both choirs sing the final verse together. This pamphlet was probably printed before 1786, since this same text appears as hymn 692 in the Erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung, and since Helmuth did not usually print the texts of hymns which already appeared in the hymnal (item 1811 is an exception in this respect).

No date B. Ermunterungs-Lied für Christliche Knechte und Mägde ("Stirring Hymn for Christian Boys and Girls").

Although it is called a "stirring" hymn, it might have had just the opposite effect since there are forty verses filling a little four-page pamphlet. The text is sung to "Jesu, Deiner zu gedenken" and begins "O, wie gut ists, Jesu dienen."

No date C. Eine Buss- und Gnaden-Stimme an allerley Menschen Seelen ("A Penitential and Merciful Voice for the Souls of All Types of Men").

This small, two-page imprint has one hymn, "Kehre wieder, kehre wieder," comprising nine verses of six lines each. There is no reference to a tune.

No date D. Auf Pfingsten ("On Pentecost") ([Philadelphia]: Conrad Zentler, n. d.).

Only two long verses (twelve lines) of a single Whitsuntide hymn, "Komm, du reiner heil'ger Geist," appear on this single-page leaflet. It was probably published sometime around 1810, since Conrad Zentler was doing considerable printing for Helmuth at this time.

No date E. Auf das heilige Osterfest ("On the Holy Festival of Easter") ([Philadelphia]: Conrad Zentler, n. d.).

This one-page leaflet contains two Easter hymns. The first is "Heil mir! des Heilands Grab ist leer," which has two verses of four lines each; the second verse is designated "choir," thereby implying that the first stanza may have been a solo or a duet. The second hymn, "Er lebt, der Erreter, und wir sind nun frey," also contains two verses of four lines each, but in a different meter than the first text. The first two lines of the first verse are treated as a refrain, being repeated after the second verse.

The Erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung remained the official hymnal of German-language congregations in the Ministerium of Pennsylvania until 1849, when the Deutsches Gesangbuch für die Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche in den Vereinigten Staaten was published. It is a tribute to Helmuth's influence that almost a quarter-century after his death the editors of the Deutsches Gesangbuch included nine of his hymns in this collection. Six of these had occurred in the old hymnal, while three others were added from other sources. The 1849 hymnal, or Wollenweber hymnbook, is so designed that with only three exceptions all the texts can be sung to the tunes in the 1813 Choral-Buch, which had also provided the music for the 1786

hymnal. Helmuth's texts in the Wollenweber book include:

Hymn 79, "Jehovah! Hirte bist du mir," sung to "Mein Gott! das Herz ich bringe dir." This text first appeared as the seventh hymn in Helmuth's Empfindungen des Herzens of 1781, and was number 190 in the 1786 book. It also appeared in the Gemeinnützige Philadelphische Correspondenz for August 8, 1781.

Hymn 165, "Dort auf jenem Todtenhügel." This text has its own melody and was first published in item 1786B; it is hymn 76 in the 1786 hymnbook.

Hymn 169, "Vom Sinai ertönte." (Sometimes this is listed as "Von Sinai..." and other times as "Vom Sinai...") This text was first published in item 1781, number 30, and in the 1786 hymnal as number 103. There are only five verses instead of the original eight.

Hymn 196, "Der Heiland lebt, er drang hervor." This text, too, appeared both in item 1781, number 32, and in the 1786 hymnal, number 111. Its tune is "Heut triumphiret Gottes Sohn."

Hymn 470, "Ich ging bisher auf einem Pfade," set to the melody of "Wer nur den lieben Gott." As yet the original publication of this hymn remains unknown. It does not appear in any of the imprints which we have mentioned.

Hymn 559, "Steh, armes Kind! wo eilst du hin?" Set to the melody of "Auf, Christenmensch," this text is number 701 in the 1786 hymnal and the first hymn in item 1781.

Hymn 583, "Welch ein wechsel unsrer Tage!" Sung to "Dort auf jenem Todtenhügel," Helmuth originally wrote these verses for New Year's Day, 1806 (cf. 1805C).

Hymn 690, "Prächtig kommt der Herr, mein König." This text has its own melody and is first found in item 1781, number 27, and later in the 1786 hymnal as number 619.

Hymn 698, "Wo reisst mich die Betrachtung hin?" The melody for this text is "Mein herzens Jesu"; it was first published in item 1781, number 25, and later in the Evangelisches Magazin, volume II (July, 1813), page 240.

No study which attempts to list a sizeable number of early imprints would be complete without a few bibliographic puzzles, and this first attempt towards listing Helmuth's hymn, anthem, and cantata texts is no exception. Oswald Seidensticker's bibliography[36] mentions a publication by Helmuth entitled Etliche Kirchenlieder, published by Conrad Zentler in 1809. Such an imprint, which probably took the form of a pamphlet, would certainly have been typical of Helmuth's work. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to locate a copy of this imprint, if it still exists.

A second puzzle surrounds a remark which the Rev. J. H. Dubbs made in his monograph, Early German Hymnology of Pennsylvania. On page 22 Dubbs states that Helmuth was author of the "Geistliche Lieder. 12mo. 200pp." Considerable searching has failed to uncover such a book.

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[36] The First Century of German Printing in America, 1728-1830 (Philadelphia: Schaefer & Koradi, 1893), p. 176.

It seems that a volume of two hundred pages could hardly have been published without leaving a trace somewhere. It does not appear in any of the standard bibliographies, nor does anyone other than Dubbs ever seem to have referred to it (except later writers who quoted him). Correspondence with Miss Elizabeth Kieffer,[37] archivist for the Evangelical and Reformed Church and a granddaughter of Dubbs, also failed to solve the problem. Miss Kieffer states that her grandfather's library did not contain such a volume, and that as far as she has been able to ascertain, no such book ever existed. On the basis of present evidence, therefore, it seems that Dubbs' citation is an error.

Undoubtedly Helmuth published many more hymn, anthem, and cantata texts than we have listed. During his active pastorate he probably wrote some such musical text for virtually every Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, and as a rule these texts were printed and distributed to the congregation. His diaries alone contain dozens of verses (including poems) which do not appear in any known imprint. In addition to the texts we have mentioned, Helmuth also published many poems anonymously in the local German newspapers. While he may have intended some of these verses to serve only as poetry per se, other unpublished stanzas in his diaries were obviously for singing. Under January 19, 1791, for example, one finds an echo hymn and aria which are said to be for the next Good Friday, but no imprint for Good Friday and Easter of 1791 has been located.

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[37] Personal letter to the author from Elizabeth Kieffer, May 17, 1960.

Throughout his diary for 1791 one finds numerous texts for which there are no known printed examples, although at least some of these were surely published, since Zion was at this time still basking in the glory of the new Tannenberg organ.

In the entry for May 29, 1799, Helmuth drew a staff in his diary on which he wrote the tune to a children's hymn he had composed (cf. example 2). This hymn has ten verses and is preceded by the inscription: "Wrote the following verse for this tune." It is typical of Helmuth's didactic hymns for the young.

In addition to Helmuth's diaries, the archives of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania contain a couple of small manuscript books of hymn and anthem texts plus a large quantity of miscellaneous scraps of paper which Helmuth used for work sheets. Some of these texts appear in the printed pamphlets we have considered; others represent new material, but verses which are much like those we have examined. For example, one manuscript sheet is entitled "Auf das heil. Christfest, 1802" on one side and "Auf den Neujahrs Tag 1803" on the other. The Christmas text has four verses beginning, "Willkommen, mein Heiland! heut wähl' ich dich mir," sung to "O, Jesu, mein Braut'gam." The two verses for New Year's Day are set to "Liebes Herz, bedenke noch" and begin, "Gott! wie schnell verschwind die Zeit." Both these texts appear in Helmuth's diary for the preceding December 14, where he describes them as being songs for the children on Christmas and New Year's Day. One can readily see that these hymns are of the same type with which we are familiar. Thus,

while the above listing of Helmuth imprints can not claim to represent the total quantity of all that he ever wrote, it does claim to be an accurate cross-section of his output and of the musical activity in the Philadelphia congregation during his pastorate.

From October, 1811, until 1817 Helmuth edited the Evangelisches Magazin, a Lutheran periodical which appeared as a quarterly through July of 1814, while the last volume -- volume IV -- appeared in three parts issued in 1815, 1816, and 1817, respectively. In addition to church news and theological discussions, this periodical published a large quantity of sacred poetry and the texts for hymns and anthems. Many of these texts were reprinted from Helmuth's earlier imprints, but as far as we know some were originally published in this magazine. The vast majority of these texts are by Helmuth himself, especially if they are printed anonymously, as most are. Among those which are stated to be hymns or contain specific references to music, and which we have not yet mentioned, are the following, all of which are found in the first volume:

1. New Year's song: "Mit Todesschauer denken wir"; nineteen verses of four lines each, (October, 1811), pages 61-62.

2. Thoughts on the day of Jesus' death: "Dort wankt Er, mein Heiland, mit der Bürde"; seventeen verses sung to "O wie selig seyd ihr doch ihr Frommen," (January, 1812), pages 123-124.

3. Jesus bows his head: "Denn Glauben ist beym Leiden"; nine verses set to "O Haupt voll Blut," (January, 1812), pages 124-125. This is a continuation of the thoughts of the preceding hymn.

4. The only basis of my sanctification: "Nein, auch bedingungsweise können"; eight verses sung to "Wer nur den lieben Gott," (January, 1812), pages 125-126.

Continuation of the above observations: "So sorgest du, mein bester Herr und Meister"; thirteen verses sung to "Herzliebster Jesu, was hast du [verbrochen]," (January, 1812), pages 126-127.

5. Entreaty for help: "Herr, deine süsse Gnaden-Zucht"; six verses sung to "Mein Gott, das Herz [ich bringe dir]," (April, 1812), page 191.

6. Matthew 13:12: "Ganz leer, mein Heiland, bin ich nicht"; six verses sung to "Mein Gott, das Herz," (July, 1812), page 248. This same text appears in Helmuth's diary on November 14, 1790.

When one considers all these musical texts, there can not be any doubt of the importance of music in Helmuth's thriving congregation. Helmuth truly accepted music as a primary handmaid of theology, and he lost no opportunity in exploiting the religious potential of song. Throughout these years Zion congregation maintained a strong choir -- or "singing choir" (Singe-Chor) as Helmuth called it -- in addition to an active musical program in the singing classes of the school. At all times the Philadelphia congregation put great emphasis upon teaching singing to the children, which was the true key to the success of Zion's musical activities. As the children grew older and became regular members of the congregation or the choir, they continued to use their youthful training in music. Thus it was that Zion became one of the musical centers -- and

certainly the largest musical center -- in Philadelphia around 1800.[38]

[38] Despite the fact that the old structure was still basically sound, Zion Church was sold in 1868 to raise money for a smaller, more "stylish" building which is the present Zion edifice. As a consequence, Philadelphia lost one of its most significant landmarks, and the Lutheran church in America turned its back on one of the most exciting phases of its own church history.

CHAPTER V

LUTHERAN MUSIC IN PENNSYLVANIA OUTSIDE PHILADELPHIA; HYMNALS AND CHORALE BOOKS

Churches in the York Area

Because York lay west of the Susquehenna, the biggest influx of settlers did not reach this area until some years after Lancaster was already a large and thriving German settlement. The records for Christ Church, York, go back as early as the 1730's, and the congregation was strong enough to build a stone house of worship in 1760. However, Christ Church did not really come into prominence as one of the largest Pennsylvania Lutheran congregations until the years following the Revolution.

The installation of a Tannenberg organ in 1804 was one of the most interesting events in the history of the York congregation around the turn of the century. This was the last instrument that Tannenberg ever constructed, for while he was tuning the organ he suffered a stroke, fell, and died three days later, on May 19, 1804. Although he was a Moravian, Tannenberg's funeral was held in Christ Church, and the organ was played for the first time at his own funeral. The children of the Moravian and the Lutheran churches in Lancaster sang beside his grave,[1] and it seems only fitting that a man who did so much to further church music in Pennsylvania should have been laid to rest midst song.

Christ Church used Tannenberg's instrument until 1893, when it was moved from the church to the Sunday School building. It gradually

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[1] Beck, Lancaster County Historical Society, XXX, 3.

deteriorated, and in 1945 the church gave the organ to the Historical Society of York County. Only recently the society completed restoring the instrument, and in the fall of 1959 E. Power Biggs came to York to record several selections on the organ, which is once again in perfect playing condition. The society has issued a leaflet giving a picture of the instrument, and also a few details concerning it. It is officially known as the Barbara Schmidt Memorial Organ, so named because the church financed it by selling two lots which Barbara Schmidt left to the congregation for that purpose. She was the widow of Joseph Schmidt, and died in 1798.[2]

The organ, which cost £355 or $947.85, contains one manual plus the pedal. The manual has a compass of fifty-four notes from CC to f'', while the pedal embraces twenty-five notes from CCC to F. It has tracker action, a pitch of A = 450, and operates on a wind pressure of three inches. The stop specifications include:

Manual

1.	Open diapason	8'	6.	Fifteenth	2'
2.	Octave	4'	7.	Stopped diapason	8'
3.	Dulciana	8'	8.	Melodia (listed as oboe)	8'
4.	Nazard	2-2/3'	9.	Trumpet	8'
5.	Sesquialtera mixture	2 ranks			

[2] Both this and a large amount of other information concerning the organ are preserved in the files of the Historical Society of York County.

Pedal

1. Bourdon 16' 2. Open diapason (wood) 8'

Another of the prize possessions of the Historical Society of York County is a manuscript collection of five volumes of drawings by Lewis Miller, son of the Lutheran schoolmaster who taught in the York congregation during the early years of the nineteenth century. Miller himself was a carpenter who was also an amateur artist. According to the Christ Church records, he was baptized in July, 1796, and his early life was closely connected with church activities. These five volumes contain over eight hundred pages of nearly fifteen hundred drawings. Miller completed the drawings over a long period of time, and though many bear dates, these do not necessarily indicate the year in which he did the drawing. Many were obviously drawn from memory as well as from descriptions given by friends.[3]

These drawings are of interest to us because several purport to show events at Christ Church which were connected with music. On page 48 of the first volume there is a sketch with the inscription: "David Danneberger, Organ builder and his Journeyman in the old Lutheran church. 1807. He was from Litiz and died in York at the time working at the organ." The drawing shows Tannenberg and his assistant fitting a pipe, while to one side stands a gentleman identified as "Mr. Hall. he finishes the organ."

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[3] Preston and Eleanor Barba, "Lewis Miller, Pennsylvania German Folk Artist," The Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, IV (1939).

As we know, this organ was built in 1804, not 1807, so perhaps this date is the year in which Miller drew the picture, or it simply may be an error. The drawing is quite crude, and in contrast to Miller's later sketches one must deduce that it dates from his childhood.[4]

Other sketches portraying life in the Lutheran church include a picture of the Rev. Jacob Goering administering baptism to a child on May 26, 1799. In the background Lewis Miller Sr., the schoolmaster, is shown leading three other persons -- one man and two boys -- in singing hymn 306, "Nun lasst uns frölich singen." This is a baptismal hymn, but no such text appears under this number in either the 1786 hymnal or the American reprint of the Marburg hymnbook. This drawing is found on page 5 of the second volume of Miller's sketch books.[5]

One of the most interesting of Miller's sketches is called: "In Side of the old Lutheran Church in 1800, York, Pa." At the top of the drawing, in the balcony of the church, one sees "The Singing Choir" directed by Lewis Miller Sr., the artist's father. The choir contains sixteen individuals identified by name; eleven are men and five are women. An organist is seated at the pipe organ, and two organists' names are listed, John Morris and Charles Fisher. One suspects that the drawing represents the church shortly after 1804 rather than in 1800, since the

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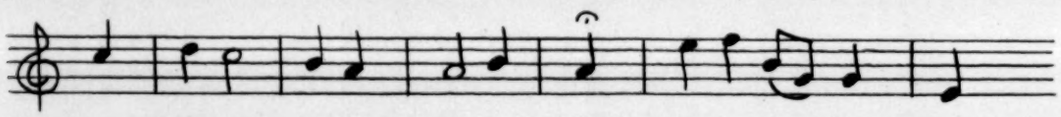
[4] Ibid., reproduced in the appendix to this article; there are no page or plate numbers.

[5] Ibid.

organ is fairly large and probably depicts Tannenberg's instrument.[6] This picture occurs on page 2 of the second volume of Miller's books.

Still another drawing showing musical activities[7] appears on page 82 of the first volume of the sketchbooks. This sketch portrays the elder Lewis Miller teaching a music class in the old Lutheran school house in 1805. He is pointing to a chart which contains a listing of the names of all the lines and spaces of the staff, below which the following tune appears:



Führe uns o Herr und leite unsern
Gang nach Deinem Wort.

Judging from this musical excerpt, Miller was not striving for literal accuracy, since this seems to be a very unlikely type of chorale melody! If the text is from an actual hymn, it probably represents an excerpt other than the first line, since no such first line appears in the 1786 hymnal, which the York church undoubtedly used.

In June, 1811, the Corporation of Christ Church took note of the decaying state of the roof and resolved that a congregational meeting be held on the next July 25 to determine whether to make repairs or to build a new church. The congregation decided to build a new church, and not

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[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid.

quite three years later, on May 1, 1814, Rev. Melzheimer officially consecrated this new house of worship.[8] Church dedications were always times for an elaborate celebration, and this was no exception. Helmuth prepared the special musical texts, which were printed in a pamphlet entitled:

> Freude, Dank und Anbetung; abgesungen im Singe-Chor am Tage der Einweihung der Deutsch-Evangelisch-Lutherischen Christ-Kirche in der Stadt York, den Isten May, 1814
> ("Joy, Thanks, and Devotion; Sung by the Choir on the Day of the Dedication of the German Evangelical Lutheran Christ Church in the City of York, on the First of May, 1814").

The morning service included the following music:

1. Processional: "Preis sey Dir, Gott"; a hymn of one verse of nine rather irregular lines, sung by the choir.

2. Duet: "Allgütiger! Dir unserm Vater"; one verse of four lines.

3. Congregation: "Dir Vater und dem Sohne!" This hymn of four verses was sung to the melody of "Wach' auf mein Herz." The same text was used at the dedication of Zion Church in Hummelstown in 1816, and Helmuth also published it in the Evangelisches Magazin, volume IV, part 3 (1817), page 84.

4. Choir: "Heut' betet Gott! vor deinen Throne"; a single verse of six lines followed by two verses of a different number entitled simply, "Adagio," and beginning, "Weint dem Jehova!"

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[8] Christ Lutheran Church minute book, pp. 68-69 and 72-73.

5. Principal hymn: "Mit starkgerühmten Herzen eil"; sung to "Sey Lob und Ehr dem höchsten [Gut]." Three of these four stanzas also were used at the Hummelstown dedication in 1816, and they were likewise printed in the issue of the Evangelisches Magazin mentioned above.

6. Choir, after the sermon: "Lass Dich gnadenvoll hernieder"; two long verses of twelve lines each.

7. Closing hymn by the congregation: "Kommt alle, ruft Er, kommt heran"; sung to "Mein Gott, das Herz."

The order of the music for the afternoon service was:

1. Choir: "Erhebe dich und singe Dank"; two long verses of sixteen lines.

2. Congregation: "Gott Vater, Sohn und Heil'ger Geist"; sung to "Wie schön leuchtet." Three of these four verses were also sung at the Hummelstown dedication in 1816.

3. Congregation, after the sermon: "Unser Herrscher, unser König"; sung choirwise.

4. Recessional: "Deine Wohnung sey nun hier"; three stanzas of eight lines each, sung by the choir.

During the evening service the choir presented two numbers: "Du gabst diesen Tag der Freuden," a hymn of two verses of eight lines, which they sang before the sermon, and "Dunkle, finst're Trauer-Tage," which they sang after the sermon and which, by the similarity of the meter, appears to be the third and fourth stanzas of "Du gabst diesen Tag der Freuden."

Although this program makes no mention of instrumental music, it is possible that a small instrumental ensemble in addition to the organ might have supported the singing. Turning again to Lewis Miller's sketchbooks, one finds that several members of the choir were also performers on musical instruments. Page 93 of the first volume of drawings contains a picture dated 1829 and showing "Lewis Miller Junior playing on the bassoon." To this Miller adds the comment: "The Bassoon is of itself very imperfect. depends on A good reed -- to blow it with ease. It is a good Bass, to a Band of musick." George Barnitz, one of the most active members in the York congregation, was a violinist,[9] and perhaps he was one of the musicians who participated in the cornerstone-laying ceremonies for the new Christ Church, depicted on page 54 of the first volume of Miller's sketches. According to this drawing these ceremonies occurred on July 2, 1812. To one side of the sketch, on a little platform, four men are involved in making music; two are standing and appear to be playing violins, a third is seated, playing what looks like a cello, while a fourth man who may be playing some sort of wind instrument (flute or cornett?) is standing behind the violinists.[10] Since this service was held outside, it was naturally impossible to use an organ, and thus some other type of instrumental support was necessary.

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[9] A sketch in I, 68, shows him playing a violin at a Fourth of July celebration in 1822.

[10] This sketch is reprinted in the appendix to the Barba article published in the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, vol. IV.

The choir apparently owned a cello or gamba of some sort, for a drawing dated May 17, 1799, sketches "the old Bass violin bought by the Sing Chor of the German lutheran & German Reform Church."[11] This was probably a cello which was used for playing the bass line to keep the choir and congregation on pitch. There is no evidence whether or not this instrument was regularly employed after the organ was installed in 1804, although in view of the practices in Philadelphia such would have been likely. Along with the sketch of the "bass violin" Miller gives the names of twenty-one men who were members of the choir at this time. No women are listed among the choir members, which is rather singular since only a few years later Miller lists several women on the roster of singers.

Among the other musicians and musical instruments which might have been available to Christ Church for performances of music, Miller sketches "John Fischers house Organ and french horn. 1802," which shows Charles Fischer (later one of the church organists) playing the horn with one hand and a small pipe organ with the other -- sort of a one-man duet.[12] Miller also includes a picture of another French hornist, "Andrew Billmeyer, Playing the old Horn. his father brought it from Germany the oldest settler in York."[13] On page 86 of the first volume of the

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[11] Vol. I of the sketchbooks; no page number.

[12] I, 123.

[13] I, 93. It is dated 1800.

sketchbooks Miller has drawn "William Lenhart. the best flute player. In York. 1811." York also had its own violin maker, who kept the local musicians supplied with instruments. He appears on page 53 of volume I under the inscription: "Mr. Gumb, the violin maker -- In South duke Street, 1799." Thus a large variety of instrumentalists was available for performances in the York community.

Just exactly what sort of an orchestra these musicians could form is somewhat open to question. A drawing called "the handilyon band of Musick" shows a weird conglomeration of what appear to be four wind instruments about the length of a recorder, two hand-bell players, a drummer, two cymbal players, a triangle player, a lone violinist, and several other musicians who appear to be holding stick-like items which may be bows, so that the lonely violinist may have had some brethren after all.[14] This particular sketch is dated 1825. Since other sketches by Miller show orchestral instruments not included in this drawing, probably the orchestration of the "handilyon band" was more conventional and not as fanciful as this one picture would seem to indicate.

Another drawing that is of interest to our purposes appears on page 69 of the fifth volume of the sketchbooks. This is entitled: "The Lutheran Singing School in the Year 1805." Because it is of a relatively high technical quality, Miller undoubtedly sketched this scene from memory some years later. It shows eight men and four women gathered around a

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[14] I, 70.

table and holding two oversized songbooks. George Barnitz appears to be leading the singing; his right hand is held in a position as if he were beating time. Miller gives a list of the persons present, and the membership is virtually synonymous with that of the church choir. Thus a better title might have been to call this a choir rehearsal, although, as we have seen in our study of the Philadelphia church, there was often very little distinction between the terms "singing school" and "singing choir."

The tercentenary of the Reformation provided occasion for an impressive festival of music in the York congregation, just as was true of the churches in Philadelphia and New York. An account of this celebration survives in a thirty-two page pamphlet published by the Singe-Chor of Christ Church and entitled simply: Reformations-Geschichte u. ("History of the Reformation, etc."). After a historical introduction of thirteen pages, pages 14-27 are devoted to the first twenty-one articles of the Augsburg Confession, while pages 28 to 32 give the texts of a fairly extended cantata which the choir presented on the occasion. An inscription at the beginning of the texts reads: "The choir is singing the following, newly composed pieces for the day." The first section of the cantata is called: "Luther's confession to the Diet at Worms, A. D. 1521." It has the following form:

1. Probably a chorus: "Als dort im Kreise aller Thronen"; nine lines of text.

2. Duet: "Da trat voll Glaubens-Muth"; three lines.

3. Solo: "Der Kaiser sprach. 'O Luther, wiederruf' die Lehre'"; one line.

4. Solo: "Luthers Antwort: 'Ach wenns nicht Gottestheures Wort'"; four lines.

5. Choir: "Kaum war der Spruch aus seinem Mund'"; five lines.

6. Congregation: "Heut singen deine Kinder"; four verses set to the melody of "Ermuntert euch ihr Frommen." This served as the principal hymn, with the congregation singing two verses before and two verses after the sermon. Thereafter the choir continued with the second section of the cantata, entitled, "The Reformation."

7. Probably a chorus: "Herrlich wie Aurorens-Licht"; five lines.

8. Solo: "O des Pabstthums trug und List"; one line.

9. Solo: "Wich der Lehre Jesu Christ"; one line, probably the response to the immediately preceding line.

10. Duet: "Millionen sah'n die Noth"; three lines.

11. Pause: "Gottes Wort, Unser Licht, Weicht der Höllen Pforten nicht." This is the entire text.

12. Duet: "Aus des Aberglaubens Macht"; two lines.

13. Choir: "Und sein Evangelium"; eight lines.

14. Solo: "Aber welch ein Wiederstand"; one line.

15. Solo: "Luther war mit Gott verwandt"; one line.

16. Duet: "Seiner Lehre heller Schein"; three lines.

17. Pause: "Zwingel kam, Und Calvin, Traten auf in Christi Sinn." This is the entire text.

18. Duet: "Und verbreiten Licht und Heil"; two lines.

19. Entire choir: "Millionen feyern Heut'"; three lines.

The evening service is called "The Pathway" (Zurechtweisung) and embraces the following order:

1. Probably a chorus: "Einer heilsachenden Seele im Pabstthum"; nine lines.

2. Solo: "Hör Seele! liess dass Wort der Gnaden"; six lines.

3. Duet: "Doch merk', du musst im Glauben lesen"; four lines.

4. Solo: "Ja hier fand ich Seelenweide"; four lines.

5. Chorus: "Auf ihr Protestantischen heisst"; eight lines.

As is true of most imprints of this type, there is no reference to the actual music that was used. From the texts, however, it is possible to make a few deductions. During the main service the music of numbers 14, 15, 16, and 17 may have been the same as or closely related to that for numbers 8, 9, 10, and 11. The choruses were probably derived from regular chorale settings adapted for the occasion, while the remainder of the music was undoubtedly much like that found in the contemporary tune-books.

Examples of the type of choruses which the choir might have sung are found in a manuscript book compiled by Jacob Fries, who lived in Hellam Township, York County, and worked with the congregation at the Creutz Creek Church near York. This book is now in the possession of

the Historical Society of York County. The title page of Fries' collection reads: "Jacob Fries, in Hellam Township, his Music Book. 1803." The volume contains sixty-two pages of music arranged for either three or four voices in open score. All the texts are in German and are generally written at the bottom of the page instead of between the staves. This is especially true of the chorale-type music, but in the case of several fuguing tunes which are in the back of the book, the texts are written under the respective voices. Except for some of the fuguing tunes, which follow the modern arrangement of a score, the order of the voices reading downward is soprano, bass, tenor, and alto, or soprano, bass, and alto (in numbers for only three voices). This arrangement makes it more convenient for the organist to play from just the melody and the bass lines, since they are not separated by intervening voices. In at least one respect the music is indicative of modern tastes, namely the melody is in the soprano rather than the tenor.

Example 3, which is from Fries' collection, is typical of the chorale harmonizations. It is written across both pages so that the music could be used for performance without the necessity of turning a page, and two verses of the text appear in the space remaining beneath the musical score. The alto tends to follow the melodic line mostly in thirds, while the tenor seems to be almost an awkward afterthought. During the second and third bars it moves in octaves with the bass, while parallel fifths occur with the soprano between the third and fourth measures from the end. Fries does not give any of the sources for his music, but one suspects that

AUF, CHRISTEN MENSCH! AUF, AUF ZUM STREIT!

EXAMPLE 3

some of these harmonizations might be his own. If he did copy them from another source, it certainly wasn't one of the polished European collections. Of course, one must remember that Fries worked in a rural congregation, and his music quite naturally would have been more crude than music in the cities where the organists often had received a standard, European-type musical training.

Churches in the Lancaster Area

Despite the fact that Holy Trinity Church in Lancaster has always been a strong and influential congregation, accounts of musical activities in this congregation are strangely lacking. The archives of the church itself contain only a few fragments of music plus a small tunebook mentioned previously, and the Lancaster County Historical Society is equally unable to give much information.

One interesting service of which an account does survive concerns the ceremonies in connection with the founding of Franklin and Marshall College in 1787. The order of service was printed in a little pamphlet, in both English and German, issued under the title: Order of Procession and Public Worship to be Observed in the Dedication of Franklin College, in the Borough and County of Lancaster.[15] Before the service a special procession of local dignitaries and guests marched from the Lancaster

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[15] (Philadelphia: Melchior Steiner, 1787). Evans 20446.

County Court House to Trinity Church, and afterwards the same procession returned to the Court House. Helmuth wrote at least one of the German texts used on this occasion, and it is probable that he was author of the other, as well. The order of the service was:

1. Prayers before the altar, in German.

2. English ode: "Hail, ye Banks of Conestogoe." This number consisted of two verses, each being answered by a counterstrophe from another hymn, "Creator hail! Thy Light and Glory." The singing either alternated between the congregation and the choir, or between two groups in the choir.

3. German hymn: "Lobe, Zion, lobe deines Herren Thaten." Helmuth originally wrote this text for the official re-opening of Zion Church in 1782; it also appears as hymn 694 in the Erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung. The original hymn had only three verses, while this version contains four, a second verse having been written especially for this service. The congregation sang the first, and presumably the third stanzas, while the children's choir answered by singing the second and the fourth verses.

4. Sermon in German.

5. Solo: The first verse of the German hymn.

6. Sermon in English.

7. Solo: The second verse of the English ode, repeated in German.

8. Prayers before the altar, in English.

9. Dr. Watts' imitation and paraphrase of Psalms 19 and 132,

"Where shall we go to seek and find"; seven verses.

10. An ode in German: "Komm und besuche, du Heiland der Menschen." This is an echo hymn; it has two verses, each of which is answered by a counterstrophe that is in a different meter, hence must have been sung to a different melody. The echo effect was probably obtained from some text repetitions that occur in the two counterstrophes.

11. Collection for the benefit of the new college.

Although other special services must have been held in Holy Trinity Church during the years just before and after 1800, no other accounts of services seem to be extant. The Rev. G. Henry E. Muhlenberg served the Lancaster congregation for many years, and it seems likely that he, too, wrote some hymn texts. His father's diary for March 27, 1784, reads: "Received a letter from my son, Gotthilf Heinrich, of Lancaster, with several examples of hymns he composed for his confirmands..."[16] It is not known what these hymns might have been.

The archives of Holy Trinity Church contain a few scraps of manuscript music which appear to date from the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries. This music consists only of four different chorales, two with an unfigured bass. The first chorale is the melody and bass to "Kein Stündlein geht dahin," a hymn in the Freylinghausen hymnal which is listed as number 4243b in Zahn's catalog. The second comprises the melody and bass to "Du, eitle Jugend wimmre heut," which is hymn 602

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[16] Tappert, III, 586.

in the Erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung, and which Helmuth published in 1811 in memory of one of the young ladies in the choir at Zion Church. The melody is actually that of "Mein junges Leben hat ein End," which appears as number 4389 in Zahn's catalog. The third hymn exists in two copies, both with only the melody. It begins, "O höchster und gerechter Gott," and is set to the tune of "Herr Jesu Christ, du höchster Gut," a melody also known as "Wann mein Stündlein vorhanden ist," Zahn number 4486. The fourth hymn is simply the melody to "Freu dich sehr, o meine Seele," one of the most familiar of all chorale tunes. Since the organist of the church undoubtedly had chorale books containing this music, it isn't clear what purpose these manuscript scraps might have served. Perhaps they were copied by or for members of the choir, or for some of the students in the school. As an example of the type of music which organists and singers used at that time, two of these hymns appear in examples 4 and 5.

During the course of this study the close connection between Lutheran church music and musical instruction in the parochial schools has received considerable emphasis. The town of New Holland in Lancaster County affords an excellent example of the way this relationship of school, church, and music worked to the mutual advantage of all three. During 1787 Rev. Melzheimer, (mentioned above as pastor at York) instigated a community undertaking to build a school in the little town of New Holland. The record book for this project still exists, so it is possible to obtain

KEIN STÜNDLEIN GEHT DAHIN

EXAMPLE 4

DU, EITLE JUGEND, WIMMRE HEUT

EXAMPLE 5

INDEPENDENT MUSIC PUBLISHERS

virtually all the details of this worthy venture,[17] even to minor contributions made by each member of the community (e. g. "Jacob Weaver, Jr. Sawed a log of his own into Laths and delivered them gratis"). The school was finished in December of 1787, and the official dedication was held on the second day of Christmas. The record book reads:

> Messrs. Steemer, Albright & Lawn, Printers of the Borough of Lancaster, were so kind and obliging as to print Gratis about Eighty hymns to be distributed among the people, and to be sung by the School youth in vocal musical order under the direction of Mr. Shaffner, on the 26th day of Decr., A. D. 1787, being the dedication day of the School house.[18]

No copy of this imprint is known to exist, but it was undoubtedly similar to some of the others of this type which we have already examined. The record book says that the solemnities proper opened with singing by "the Schools & Singers in German under the direction of Mr. Shaffner, the German Master." A prayer and "suitable oration" followed, and then there was more vocal music. Rev. Melzheimer gave the principal discourse, which was followed by vocal music. Music again occurred after a "satisfactory discourse" by one of the trustees of the school, and the services closed with the reading of the "Fundamental Articles" establishing the school, whereupon there was a final selection of vocal music.[19]

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[17] This discussion is based upon an article by F. R. Diffenderffer, "How the New Holland School House Was Built," Lancaster County Historical Society, II (March, 1898), 181-212.

[18] Ibid., p. 191.

[19] Ibid., pp. 201-202.

The third article of the school regulations states that in consideration of the school's being built on the glebe lands of the German Lutheran congregation, the congregation reserves the right that:

> Every German School Master shall at all Times, by virtue of his office, be obliged to attend the said Congregation upon every one of their Divine Services and shall then and there serve to them in the Capacity of a Precentor and organist, and that no other German Master shall be admitted and appointed, other than such a person as shall be adjudged Capable to perform the duties and functions of a precentor or person that is capable to lead the Choir upon Divine Services, and that can act as organist aforesaid.[20]

This article clearly shows how such a school bestowed a threefold benefit upon those who participated. By co-operating with the church, the community was able to support a school and a schoolmaster, and the church in turn was able to have a qualified organist. Moreover, such an arrangement naturally tended to emphasize musical instruction within the school, and the third benefactor, therefore, was music itself.

One finds that Helmuth's hymn-writing activities extended even to churches as far from Philadelphia as those north of Lancaster in Dauphin County. The Evangelisches Magazin, volume II (October, 1812), page 62, contains four verses of a hymn, "Gelobet seyst du, Gott der Macht" which appears to be by Helmuth and probably was sung at the cornerstone-laying ceremonies of a new church in Bethel Township on August 11, 1811. A little more than a year later Helmuth was able to write some texts for the dedication of this church, which occurred on

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[20] Ibid., p. 193.

June 7, 1812. These texts, also, were published in the Evangelisches Magazin.[21] The first, "Lobet den Herren, den mächtigen König der Güte," has four verses which undoubtedly were set to the hymn tune beginning with virtually this same line. The second hymn, "Das liebe Zoar steht nun da," contains four verses in long meter.

Helmuth also provided the texts for the dedication of Zion Church in Hummelstown. They were printed in a pamphlet entitled: Auf die Einweihung der Zions-Kirche in Hummelstaun, Dauphin County, den 28sten July, 1816 ("On the Dedication of Zion Church in Hummelstown, Dauphin County, the 28th of July, 1816"). The order of service was:

1. Opening hymn: "Liebster Vater! kehre heut"; three verses sung to "Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier." The choir presented the first and third stanzas, while the congregation sang the second verse.

2. After the dedication: "Dir, Vater, und dem Sohne"; four verses sung to "Wach auf, mein Herz." The choir sang the first stanza, and the congregation joined to sing the other three.

3. Principal hymn: "Mit starkgerührten Herzen eil"; three verses sung to "Sey Lob und Ehr dem [höchsten Gut]."

4. Apparently after the sermon: "Gott Vater, Sohn und heil'ger Geist." Although no tune is listed, Helmuth first wrote this text for the dedication of Christ Church in York, 1814, where the melody is said to be "Wie schön leuchtet." There are three verses. All four of these

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[21] II, (January, 1813), 127-128.

hymns were reprinted in the Evangelisches Magazin, volume IV, part 3 (1817), pages 84-85.

5. Closing hymn after the Benediction: "Unsern Ausgang segne Gott." This was a standard closing hymn among Pennsylvania congregations. It is the third verse of "Nun Gott lob! es ist vollbracht," which is sung to "Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier," and appears as hymn 11 in the 1786 hymnal.

Another Lutheran congregation in the area north of Lancaster existed in Lebanon. On June 3, 1798, the Ministerium of Pennsylvania met there to assist with the dedication of a new church. Dr. Lochman, pastor of the congregation, published a festival pamphlet containing the hymns of the dedicatory service. In 1898 the church reprinted this pamphlet for their centennial celebration.[22] It contains a short preface signed by Rev. M. George Lochman, and immediately thereafter one finds the texts of the dedication hymns. These texts followed a by now familiar pattern:

1. Singing school: "Kommt singet heute Freudenlieder"; one verse of eight lines.

2. Congregation: "Wir stimmen heute gern mit an"; one verse sung to "Sey Lob und Ehr dem höchsten Gut."

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[22] Reproduction of the Original Program of the Dedicatory Service of Salem Evangelical Lutheran Church, Held June 3d, 1798. Centennial Celebration Held June 19th, 1898. The original pamphlet, Evans 34010, was printed in Germantown by Michael Billmeyer.

3. Singing school: "O hilf uns ferner treuer Horte." This appears to be the second verse to the first number.

4. Congregation: "Erhebe dich von neuem Gott!" This is the second verse to the second number.

5. Singing school: "Gib du uns immer treue Lehrer"; third verse to the first number.

6. "Auf, O Libanon! und bringe"; two verses of nine lines each. The program doesn't say who sang it.

7. "Auf, traeger Geist, ermunt're dich"; four verses of six lines each. Again there is no reference as to who did the singing. Since these last two numbers appear to be straightforward hymns, probably both the choir and the congregation joined in singing them.

Ten years after this dedication the Lebanon church installed a new, two-manual pipe organ. It was built by Bachman of Lititz, and Helmuth was present for its dedication on June 12, 1808. This organ served the church until 1883.[23]

John Christopher Moller and His Cantata for the Reading Church

On June 15, 1794, Trinity Church in Reading proudly dedicated a new house of worship. The Ministerium of Pennsylvania was present

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[23] Theodore E. Schmauk, Old Salem in Lebanon (Lebanon: Report Publishing Co., 1898), p. 202.

for this special occasion, and J. C. Moller composed the music for a short cantata set to texts by Helmuth. Unlike the previous anthems and cantatas we have mentioned, at least two published copies of the actual music for this occasion are known to be extant. One is in the possession of the church at Reading; the other is in the archives of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. An interesting sidelight on the dedication of this new church is the fact that through the efforts of F. A. Muhlenberg the list of donors includes several members of Congress as well as signers of the Declaration of Independence.[24]

Helmuth himself was present at the dedication, and his diary for June 15, 1794, reads:

> Messrs. Moeller and Ott here for a few minutes; along with Goering and Schmucker we went into the church -- very large crowd of people. First of all the hymn, "Komm heil[iger] Geist, Herre Gott" was sung; then P[astor] Schultz read the words of dedication and offered a prayer...thereupon the singing school sang, and then the hymn, "O Jesu Christe, wahres Licht." I went into the pulpit and did an expository reading; now and then gave little remarks asking for grace to be with us...preached over II Cor. 6:16...After the sermon sang "Lobet den Herren, den mächtigen."

Helmuth's reference to the singing school is undoubtedly to the short cantata which Moller and he had written. The music is included in a printed pamphlet which carries an elaborately engraved title page, partly in German script, and which reads:

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[24] Knudsen, The Historical Review of Berks County, XVI, 68.

> Dank und Gebet am Tage der Einweihung der Deutsch Evangel. Lutherischen Kirche in Reading den 15 Juny 1794. von J. H. Chr. Helmuth und auf Musik gesetzt durch J. C. Moller ("Thanks and Devotion on the Day of the Dedication of the German Evangelical Lutheran Church in Reading on the 15th of June, 1794, by J. H. Chr. Helmuth and Set to Music by J. C. Moller").

Although the publisher's name is not specifically given, a note at the bottom of the title page says that copies are available at number 163 in Third Street, which was the address of Moller and Capron's music store and publishing house in Philadelphia.

Appendix H gives the complete music and text of this short cantata, consisting of a chorus, duet, and two arias. While the cantata does not represent a musical masterpiece, it is, nonetheless, competent writing in the style of the time. During the chorus the tenor part is sometimes notated as if it were singing in octaves, but, as a remark after the text of the second verse says, this is simply a way of indicating that if the tenors find the notes too high for comfort, they may perform them an octave lower.

Who was John Christopher Moller? We have already learned that he was organist at Zion Church in Philadelphia from 1790 to 1794, and that he was a prominent name in American musical life during the decade from 1790-1800. It also appears as though he is identical with the J. C. Moller listed in Robert Eitner's Quellen-Lexikon, of whom Eitner says only that "he lived at the end of the eighteenth century," and that "no more is known about him."[25] Under an entry for J. C. Moeller,

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[25] Robert Eitner, Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten den christlichen Zeitrechnung bis zur Mitte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts (New York: Musurgia, n. d.), VII, 14.

Fétis says that he was a harpsichordist and German composer who lived around 1780, publishing music at Frankfurt and Spire (Speier).[26] Some of the items attributed to Moller in Eitner's Quellen-Lexikon also appear in The British Union-Catalogue of Early Music.[27] These include the following pieces:

1. "Six quartettos for two violins tenor and a violoncello," published in London by J. Betz. No date is given, but it is estimated to be around 1775.

2. "A sett of progressive lessons for the harpsichord or piano forte," opus 6, published in London by Longman and Broderip around 1795. Another edition was published about the same time by J. Cooper, also of London.

3. "Six sonatas for the forte piano or harpsichord with a violin & violoncello accompagnemt," [sic] published in London by Cartier around 1785.

It thus appears that Moller must have come to London during his early manhood and remained there for several years; otherwise these pieces would not have carried London imprints, since he was not sufficiently significant that foreign publishers would be clamoring for his works. Moller had a daughter who was a child prodigy, and Sonneck

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[26] F. J. Fétis, Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique, VI (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1878), 156.

[27] Edith B. Schnapper (ed.), (London: Butterworths Scientific Publications, 1957), II, 683.

quotes an announcement in the Pennsylvania Packet of December 1, 1790, as saying that Miss Lucy Moller, child prodigy, would give a concert on December 3. The announcement claims that she had performed in London "with the greatest applause and exceeded any child of her age."[28] This fact further establishes that Moller must have been in London before coming to America, and unquestionably, therefore, he is the J. C. Moller listed in Eitner and Fétis.

Moller and his family must have come to New York sometime during 1790, for his name first appears on New York concert programs of that year. According to George Odell, Moller's name occurs in concert notices published in the Daily Advertiser for September 7 and September 21 of 1790.[29] The announcement of September 21 said that Moller would assist in presenting a subscription series of six concerts and six operas during the coming season, but he was obviously unable to fulfill such an obligation since only two weeks later he was auditioning for the position of organist at Zion Church, Philadelphia.

After he came to Philadelphia, Moller not only served as organist for Zion, but he participated in the City Concerts both as a manager and as a performer. In 1793 he entered partnership with Henri Capron, operating a combined music store, music studio, and publishing house at

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[28] O. G. Sonneck, Early Concert Life in America (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1907), p. 136.

[29] Odell, I, 286 and 287.

163 North Third Street. Gerson observes that the firm of Capron and Moller was the first actual music publishing house in Philadelphia, earlier firms having been general printers and stationers.[30] Moller and Capron also published several issues of a monthly music magazine, the first such venture on record in the United States. Sonneck's Early Concert Life in America prints eight programs which Moller presented during the Philadelphia season of 1792-1793 in association with Alexander Reinagle and Capron. These programs are fully comparable to similar events in Europe of that day, and one recognizes the names of Bach (C. P. E. ?), Haydn, Stamitz, and Martini along with lesser names.

When Zion Church burned on December 26, 1794, Moller no longer had an organ job, so he began to look about for a new position. Despite his activity as a teacher, performer, promoter, and publisher, it seems likely that he desired an organ position for security, since concert life was a rather uncertain profession financially. Thus during 1795 he returned to New York, where he accepted a position as organist in Trinity Episcopal Church. The vestry minutes for November 24, 1795, read:

> Resolved that Mr. _____ Muller be appointed Organist of Trinity Church during the pleasure of the Corporation with a salary of Three Hundred Dollars per annum -- that it be a part of his duty to keep the organ in good condition -- that he officiate as organist at such times and in such manner as the Vestry shall direct...[31]

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[30] Gerson, p. 332.

[31] For this and other information from the vestry minutes and records of Trinity Parish the author is indebted to Helen Rose Cline, the Parish Recorder.

Trinity Church was not especially prompt in paying Moller's traveling expenses to New York, for on December 12, 1796, the vestry minutes state: "Resolved that the Treasurer pay Mr. Moller, Organist of Trinity Church, twenty pounds for his expenses from Philadelphia to New York previous to his appointment." As was true in Philadelphia, Moller led an active musical life aside from his work as a church organist. His name re-appeared in New York concert life in an advertisement in the Minerva, December 4, 1795, in association with a new series of subscription concerts.[32] In 1796 he undertook the continuation of the Old City Concerts, and according to the newspapers he appeared either as a performer or a sponsor in numerous musical events from 1796 to 1802.

Moller apparently remained active up until the time of his death in September, 1803. Trinity Church has a burial record for John C. Moller, forty-eight years old, on September 21, 1803, in Trinity churchyard, but no location of his grave is given, and there is no record of a tombstone in his memory. This burial record indicates that the year of his birth must have been 1755. John Tasker Howard says of Moller that "he was a talented musician, and his compositions had considerable merit."[33]

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[32] Odell, I, 415.

[33] Our American Music (3rd ed.; New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1946), p. 104. Two new recordings of Moller's "Quartet in E-flat" have recently appeared, so the modern listener is now able to judge Moller's music for himself. Both performances are by the New Music Quartet. One appears on a record issued by the American Recording Society (ARS 33) under the title, "American Colonial Instrumental Music," while the other is on a record called, "Instrumental Music in Colonial America," issued by The Society for the Preservation of the American Musical Heritage (MIA 101). Since Moller's activity in America covers the years 1790 to 1803, it seems a little strange that he should be classed as a "colonial" composer.

Other Churches in Southeastern Pennsylvania

Turning from Moller's activities to church music in other areas around Reading and southeastern Pennsylvania, one finds that just as in the years following the Revolution, new churches and new organs blossomed forth in remarkable profusion around 1800. Every town with a German population had its Lutheran church, or sometimes a union Lutheran and Reformed church. All these churches aspired to obtaining small organs as soon as they were financially able.

Church dedications were always a time of great celebration, both spiritually and musically. It is interesting to note that in the area around Bethlehem small, rural, Lutheran and Reformed congregations which lacked musical resources of their own were sometimes assisted by Moravian musicians on festive occasions. The large Moravian church at Bethlehem would send both musicians and visiting clergy to assist at the ceremonies in these small congregations. The famous Moravian trombone choir was especially active in giving such assistance.[34]

One such instance occurred at the dedication of Jerusalem Lutheran and Reformed Church, Western Salisbury (Lehigh County). According to an excerpt from the Moravian church diary, a group of Moravian musicians assisted at the dedication on Whitmonday, May 22, 1820. "All the musicians following an invitation went to Jerusalem Church (Western

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[34] Joseph A. Maurer, "The Moravian Trombone Choir," The Historical Review of Berks County, XX (October, 1954), 3.

Salisbury) in order to assist with singing and orchestral music in the dedication, in the first service of the second day of dedication."[35]

Zion Church in West Brunswick Township, Schuylkill County, was one of the small Lutheran congregations which received an organ around 1800. It was built by Christian Dieffenbach during the summer of 1808, and was formally dedicated on October 16 of that year. The organ cost $300.[36] Other small churches in southeastern Pennsylvania which had organs included Keller's Lutheran Church in Bucks County (a subscription was raised for an organ in 1792)[37] and Zion or Old Organ Church, a mile south of Spring City, which dedicated a new Tannenberg organ costing £150 on October 9, 1791.[38] As the name of the latter church indicates, the fact that it owned a good organ made it so distinctive that the church was popularly known as Organ Church. The old Falckner Swamp or New Hanover church, one of Muhlenberg's original congregations, also received a new organ in 1800. According to an agreement dated June 28, 1800, between the church and Christian Dieffenbach, the

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[35] Quoted by Tilghman Neimeyer, et al., History of Jerusalem Lutheran and Reformed Church of Western Salisbury, Lehigh Co., Penna. (Allentown: H. R. Haas, 1911), p. 58.

[36] H. A. Weller, "A Documentary History of the Old Red (Zion) Church in West Brunswick Township, Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania," Publications of the Historical Society of Schuylkill County, II, No. 3 (1909), 187.

[37] William J. Hinke, "Early History of Keller's Lutheran Church, Bedminster Township, Bucks County," A Collection of Papers Read before the Bucks County Historical Society, VI (1932), 376.

[38] Chas. F. Dapp, History of Zion's or Old Organ Church (Spring City: Inter-Borough Press, 1919), pp. 46-49.

builder, the organ was to have ten stops plus a pedalboard; it was to have a walnut case and be completed by August 1, 1801. The price was £230.[39] These churches are just a few examples of the tremendous increase in the number of organs -- and an inevitably resulting improvement in the nature of church music -- which occurred during these years.

As one examines the various churches associated with the Ministerium of Pennsylvania during the first three decades after the Revolutionary War, it becomes apparent that in the use of music, as in church matters generally, the various churches tended to follow the practice of St. Michael's and Zion Congregation of Philadelphia. Zion Church was the model, and the other churches strived to imitate Zion in so far as local resources would permit. In music and singing Helmuth's influence was felt not only indirectly, but in the fact that congregations outside Philadelphia called upon him to arrange dedicatory programs and other services, at least as far as musical texts were concerned. The entire ministerium looked to the Philadelphia congregation for leadership, and the Philadelphia congregation in turn made the talents of its ministers and musicians available to the other churches. This was especially evident in the publication of the 1813 Choral-Buch, which was primarily an undertaking of the Philadelphia church, and which we shall consider below. It was also evident in the dedication of the church at Reading in 1794, or in the fact that the ministerium's first periodical, the Evangelisches Magazin,

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[39] Kline, p. 151.

was largely the work of Helmuth. If one were to portray the organization of Pennsylvania Lutheranism at this time, therefore, it would be a picture in which Philadelphia was the sun and the other congregations the planets, revolving in their respective orbits. True, some of the churches, like those at Lancaster and York, carried considerable weight in their own right, but they tended to look towards Philadelphia and to receive their light therefrom.

Unofficial Hymn Collections

Although the Erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung remained the official German hymnbook of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, various independent or semi-official collections were issued, some of which found their way into Lutheran services. These collections were often designed to appeal generally to Lutheran, Reformed, and even some of the sectarian elements of the German population. They became so popular during the first two decades of the nineteenth century that the 1815 convention of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania specifically warned members against using these unauthorized hymnals, and also resolved that no member of the ministerium had a right to print a new hymnbook without the consent of the synod.[40]

The most popular and most widely used of the union or non-denominational hymnbooks was the Gemeinschaftliche Gesangbuch of 1817, which has been discussed earlier in connection with the New York Synod

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[40] Spaeth, p. 476.

because it received an official endorsement from that body. This collection also appeared in Lutheran congregations in Pennsylvania, though it did not displace the regular hymnal. Other unofficial hymnals included:

1. The Neueingerichtetes Gesang-Buch enthaltend eine Sammlung (mehrentheils alter) erbaulicher Lieder ("Newly Arranged Hymnbook Containing a Collection of Edifying Hymns, Mostly Old")[41] was a large, non-denominational collection intended for general use among German-speaking people. Including the "Anhang," it contains 695 hymns on 538 pages, plus a melody index and table of contents. The melody index groups two, three, four or more hymns together which can be sung to to the same tune. In the body of the hymnal itself there is also a specific melody reference before each text, except in the case of familiar texts which have their own tune.

2. Das neue Gesangbuch zum öffentlichen Gottesdienst und zur häuslichen Andacht ("The New Hymnbook for Public Worship and for Household Devotions")[42] was a semi-official publication issued by the Lutheran conference in western Pennsylvania. It grew from a desire on the part of churches in that area for a smaller, cheaper, more practical book than the large 1786 hymnal. These churches felt that such a book would be better suited to frontier conditions. This collection, therefore, represents no new effort at compiling a hymnal, but rather is an

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[41] (Philadelphia: Conrad Zentler, 1813).

[42] (Pittsburgh: Jacob Schnee, [1815]).

abbreviated version (194 pages plus the table of contents) of the 1786 hymnal.

3. Ein Exempel- und Liederbüchlein für betende Kinder ("A Little Example and Songbook for Praying Children")[43] is typical of the type of devotional material used in the Lutheran and Reformed schools. Pages 101-144 form a large section called "Songs for Children." Like most hymnbooks, no actual notation appears in the book itself, but most of the texts have reference to a familiar tune.

4. In 1819 the Tract and Book Society of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of St. John published a little booklet entitled, Hymns for the Use of Children.[44] St. John's Church, Philadelphia, was formed by an English-speaking faction of St. Michael's and Zion Congregation, so it is only natural that these texts in the style of Sunday School hymns should be in English. They are mostly in simple, common meters, and do not contain references to appropriate melodies.

5. The Harmonisches Gesang Buch ("Harmonious Hymnbook")[45] was a general collection, partly from old and partly from new authors, designed to appeal to the German population. It was non-denominational, and followed the typical arrangement of the German hymnals of this date, including the inevitable "Anhang." The collection contains 254 hymn texts on 189 pages; references to tunes include many of the standard Lutheran chorales.

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[43] (Philadelphia: Conrad Zentler, 1817)

[44] (Philadelphia: William Fry, 1819).

[45] (Allentown: Heinrich Ebner, 1820).

6. A somewhat more extensive German counterpart to the Hymns for the Use of Children appeared in 1828 under the title, Kleines Liederbuch für Sonntagsschulen ("Little Hymnbook for Sunday Schools").[46] This book was edited by a committee of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of West Pennsylvania, and was printed on the press of the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Gettysburg. It is a small volume of sixty pages, containing fifty-eight hymn texts. Although some of the tunes are not specified, being identified merely by metric indications, the collection nonetheless refers to a large number of standard Lutheran chorale melodies.

In 1828 the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, a group which unsuccessfully tried to unite all the American Lutheran bodies into one church organization, issued its official English hymnal, Hymns, Selected and Original.[47] This hymnbook was very popular and was reprinted many times; it also represents a disconcertingly low level of hymnody as far as Lutheran music in America is concerned. As the preface states, the editors "procured all the most excellent and valuable Hymn Books issued by sister churches, and have also examined very many hymns dispersed through the works of individual authors." The editors also relied heavily upon the 1814 New York hymnal, even

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[46] (Gettysburg: H. C. Neinstedt, 1828).

[47] (Gettysburg: General Synod of the Ev. Lutheran Church, 1828).

to the extent of giving the original numbers to all the hymns that were taken from that collection, thus enabling the two books to be used in the same congregation. Smith reports that nearly 300 of the 520 texts in the New York collection were transferred to this book with little or no change.[48] Instead of giving references to appropriate melodies, only the designations for common, long, short, and peculiar meter, respectively, appear before each hymn. This fact alone shows the non-Lutheran character of the collection, for the majority of Lutheran chorales have very distinctive and often irregular metric construction -- a feature which is one of their artistic strengths.

The 1813 Chorale Book

None of the hymnbooks which we have just discussed contained any musical notation. Just as was true during the Muhlenberg era, the organist or precentor was expected to locate a suitable melody in one of the many chorale books which were issued for that very purpose. This, of course, led to a large amount of diversity between congregations as to what music best suited this or that hymn. One of the purposes of singing schools and also of singing classes in the parochial schools was to give the students an opportunity to learn the tunes, so that they could properly use the hymnals. Sometimes the students compiled their own music books.

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[48] Smith, p. 102.

The Pennsylvania Historical Society has an excellent example of such a book as may have been used in Lutheran or Reformed schools. Entitled Einer auserlesene Sammlung geistlicher Lieder ("A Choice Collection of Spiritual Songs"),[49] it contains seventy-five different hymn texts with accompanying musical staves, but without notation. The owner of the book, which in this case was Henrich Lehn, was expected to fill in the appropriate notation for each hymn. Many of the staves are still blank, but some of the hymns are arranged for three voices and are set to such familiar tunes as "Innsbruck," "Old Hundredth," and "Seelen Bräutigam."

However, such collections were only makeshift devices, and church leaders fully recognized the lack of an official chorale book to accompany the 1786 hymnal. It was not until 1813 that this lack was satisfactorily resolved with the issuance of the Choral-Buch für die Erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung der deutschen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Gemeinen in Nord-Amerika ("Chorale Book for the Edifying Collection of Hymns of the German Evangelical Lutheran Congregations in North America").[50] This was the first authorized Lutheran chorale book to be published in America. Although it was the official tunebook of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, its compilation was primarily under the auspices of St. Michael's and Zion Congregation, Philadelphia.

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[49] (Lancaster: Joseph Ehrenfried, [1813?]).

[50] (Philadelphia: Conrad Zentler and George Blake, 1813).

At the meeting of the ministerium held in Philadelphia in 1811, the minutes for Tuesday afternoon, June 11, report that Helmuth discussed a new chorale book which would be printed in Philadelphia and which would contain over two hundred melodies for the hymns in the 1786 hymnal. Helmuth expressed the desire that this new book be introduced into all the congregations, and the ministerium promised to give it their support.[51]

The 1813 Choral-Buch contains 160 pages of music with 266 hymn melodies and their figured basses, including the hymns which appear in the "Anhang." The hymns are grouped into 188 different meters. An index lists the more than seven hundred texts which are found in the 1786 hymnal and relates each to a metric classification and a suitable tune. A note at the bottom of the last page of music says that the musical engraving was done by G. E. Blake.

Among the books which the editors say they consulted, and from which they borrowed tunes, are the collections by König, Gregor, Knecht, and Vierling. These are probably references to Johann Balthaser König's Harmonischer Lieder-Schatz oder allgemeines Evangelisches Choral-Buch;[52] the Vollständige Sammlung theils ganz neu componirter, theils verbesserter, vierstimmiger Choralmelodien für das neue Wirtembergische Landgesangbuch,[53] edited by Knecht and Christmann; the Choralbuch,

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[51] "Verhandlungen der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synodal-Versammlung, die den 9ten Junius und die folgende Tage, Anno 1811, zu Philadelphia ist gehalten worden," Evangelisches Magazin, I (October, 1811), 17.

[52] [Franckfurt: By the author, 1738].

[53] (Stuttgart: Gebruder Mäntler'schen Verlage, 1799).

DORT AUF JENEM TODTENHÜGEL

EXAMPLE 6

PRÄCHTIG KOMMT DER HERR, MEIN KÖNIG

EXAMPLE 7

INDEPENDENT MUSIC PUBLISHERS

enthaltend alle zu dem Gesangbuch der Evangelischen Brüder-Gemeinen vom Jahre 1778 gehörige Melodien,[54] edited largely by Christian Gregor; and Johann Gottfried Vierling's Choralbuch auf vier Stimmen zum Gebrauch bey dem öffentlichen-und Privat-Gottesdienst.[55]

As a sample of the type of music which the 1813 Choral-Buch contains, examples 6 and 7 reproduce two hymns from this collection. Both these hymns, "Dort auf jenem Todtenhügel" and "Prächtig kommt der Herr, mein König," are by Helmuth, and it is possible that he might also have written the melodies.

Since the introductory pages contain a large amount of information both concerning the chorale book itself as well as many details regarding chorale singing at the time, the entire preface is translated below. The original German text is found in Appendix J.

FOREWORD

> Anyone who gives only a fleeting glance to the condition of the German Evangelical Church in this western land is truly astonished how the Lord has visited this church so graciously with his blessing. One church after another is being built, and one congregation after another is being founded; not a year passes in which events of this nature do not come to one's attention.
>
> Moreover, the Lord does not lack such persons who dedicate themselves to his service in a proper manner; he awakens young men who preach the Gospel with true understanding, and lead the manifold flocks of the Lord Jesus to the pasture of God's word.
>
> Only one thing appeared to be greatly lacking in our united congregations; singing, the strongest means of edification in our worship together was very defective.

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[54] (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1784).

[55] (Cassel: Waisenhaus, 1789).

Some had this, others had that melody; in our services of worship one heard almost as many different types of tunes as there were congregations; in one place they sang too fast, in another too slow.

Several years ago our ministerium considered preparing a chorale tunebook especially for our hymnal; however, the men who had the talent, the proper attitude, or sufficient willingness to attempt this task were always lacking, until a committee of the German Evangelical Lutheran Congregation in Philadelphia took the task in hand, and with the consultation of an honored, very talented musician, undertook it with the supervision of the Corporation of the congregation, and has now fortunately completed this job. Anyone who compares our present singing with the former can truly determine how fortunate the result of these two years of work in our congregation has been. The book is now finished, and one will have a difficult time finding a better one of this sort.

May the gracious Lord bless this endeavor and awaken all God-loving men who have influence in their congregations to see to it that with the help of this work, singing in our congregations without exception may become always more beautiful and more in conformity with general edification.

J. Heinr. Ch. Helmuth, President

Introduction

The reason for editing this chorale book.

Because ever since the publication of our Lutheran hymnbook one has had to face the disagreeable experience that due to a lack of chorale books the hymn tunes which have been a part of our church for centuries were sung one way in this church and another way in that, and because one further observed that many old, powerful melodies had been entirely forgotten here and there, and because, moreover, no melodies at all were available for a large portion of the hymns, with the result that they could never be sung in public worship, one has thought to improve this situation, so detrimental to church singing, by publishing this chorale book.

Who undertook this edition, and how.

In order to attain this purpose, more than four years ago a group of musically qualified men in Philadelphia formed a committee which strived to select and to gather

appropriate, agreeable, and easy-to-introduce melodies for our hymnal, with the intention, perhaps, of making this collection generally useful by printing it someday if the time and circumstances would appear favorable to such an undertaking. In order to be able to proceed with greater certainty, one beforehand practiced these melodies with the singing choir that is established here, and then introduced them to the congregation, which now sings most of the melodies not only correctly and pleasantly, but also with enjoyment and edification.

Remark: Even a choir that sings only the soprano part and consists mostly of women's voices is an indispensable need both in introducing new melodies as well as if one wants to improve church singing as a whole. One first of all practices new melodies with the choir, and then has them sing the tunes which they have learned a few times either at the beginning or at the end of public worship, being careful to sing with moderate voice and in moderate tempo. The congregation only listens, and is then incited first of all to follow, alternating with the choir in singing the new melody. Old tunes, which in most congregations are sung partly too dragging and with all too many interpolations, should likewise be sung before the congregation in the above manner according to the model in the chorale book. The congregation is beforehand made to take notice of the singing, and then requested readily to sing along. Since in the country the congregation has always assembled an ample time before public worship begins, it would certainly be very advantageous towards attaining that aim [i. e. of good singing] if each time old and young united with the organist or precentor to sing one or the other melodies with feeling and propriety.

The number of the melodies and their composers.

There are around 270 melodies, and these consist partly of old tunes from König's chorale book and others, partly of new melodies which are taken from Gregor's, Knecht's, and Vierling's chorale books, and partly, however, of entirely new compositions, which were necessary because the existing old melodies appeared to be either too difficult to introduce or were not suitable for the hymn, or because too many entirely new types of meter did not have any melodies at all.

Arrangement of this chorale book according to the types of meter.

In considering the arrangement of this chorale book it is necessary to remark that the melodies which occur herein are arranged according to certain types of meter, so that all tunes which belong to a metric group have the same number of syllables in their verses and can be interchanged with one another. An example will make this very clear. On pages 1 to 4 one finds metric group 2. Seven melodies are found here which have the same rime or metric pattern, and still an eighth which likewise belongs here occurs in the supplement. One calls these eight tunes basic melodies (Grund-Melodien) because all the other hymns which belong to this metric pattern can be sung after one or the other of these basic melodies. In the table of contents one finds references as to which basic melody may be most suitable for this or that hymn, but without wishing thereby to restrict the choice of artistically qualified persons in the free use of the melodies, since such persons themselves know that, for example, the tune "Es ist das Heil uns kommen her" is not appropriate for the penitential hymn, "Herr Jesu Christ, du höchstes Gut."

Specific details concerning the metric groups and the melodies which they contain.

Whoever carefully examines the above-mentioned second metric group and the eight melodies which it contains will find that the number of the latter is not too large, partly because all the melodies have been sung for a long time in our churches and they must be included so that they may not be entirely forgotten, partly because they are beautiful, powerful melodies, and finally because in our hymnbook there are sixty-four hymns, all of which can be sung to the meters in this group. Consequently, a large number of hymns requires, also, a comparable number of melodies; all the more so because the content of the hymns is different. Therefore, this difference must also occur in considering the melodies and their nature. Or, to put it briefly, there must be melodies which correspond to the number and content of the hymns which are at hand. This observation holds true, likewise, in considering all the metric groupings. One has only to add to this that many metric groups were enlarged yet more by a beautiful, new melody, and that as a result often two melodies were set to a single hymn, namely a new one along with the old. For whomever this

seems superfluous, or whoever is interested only in the old and would have entirely nothing to do with the new, he may prefer to choose that the edition of this chorale book also be of profit to the singing school, which should find a rich supply of beautiful new melodies in this collection, which, according to their preference, they can sing in church in one, two, three, or four voices.

Concerning the supplement.

The supplement would not have been completely necessary. However, here and there one found a beautiful new melody which he wanted to share. The metric grouping to which each of these belongs is listed both in the table of contents as well as with each tune.

Observations regarding lovely hymn singing, primarily in public worship.

In order to make this chorale book as complete as possible, and all the more useful for everyone who wants to use it as a means for learning or improving church singing, the editors have considered it appropriate to add yet a few enlightening suggestions to this introduction about the nature of lovely chorale singing and the means for making such beautiful singing more general. It is hereby not at all their aim to treat this subject in detail, for the limitations of a foreword, if it is not very extended, would be too narrow to do this with depth. But they wish only to make a few little remarks concerning the mistakes which seem to them to have been generally and commonly committed up to now in church singing in this land, and which provide the next subject for consideration.

Singing in church or on occasions of worship has the aim of developing or furthering devotion, and of placing the soul in a restful disposition in order to make it more receptive to spiritual impressions and heavenly feelings. Thereby it quite naturally follows that such a song itself must be devotional and restful, that is, it must be performed slowly and in a moderate voice -- never in a frivolous hurry and with disagreeable screaming. Wherever a song expresses the feelings of a pious heart directed to God, one does not need to write down this first rule; however, such persons who are present in religious gatherings without having such a disposition of the soul

should at least not degrade a Christian meeting through improper singing. If we sing spiritual songs, then it is proper to sing them as if one were before the eyes of God. And who would not consider it to be the most outlandish impropriety in the presence of the Eternal and Almighty to offer him prayers and thanksgiving, or sacred observations regarding his love, mercy, wisdom, greatness, justice, etc. in a frivolous, indecent manner?

It will hardly require a reminder here that one must not confuse solemn slowness with a dragging performance, anymore than solemnity ever has something in common with drowsiness.

A definite rule can hardly be given how fast or slow a chorale melody should be sung, but this is determined not only according to the differing content of the hymn, but also according to the custom which formerly was introduced in a place, and according to the sort of feeling of an assembled congregation at the time. In deep mourning the tempo will entirely of itself become somewhat slower than in times of less depressing sentiments. On occasions of great joy the singing will of itself, without the congregation being especially conscious of it, acquire a quicker, more fiery pace than with more restrained cheerfulness. As a general rule one can only say that one always tries to fit the tempo of the singing to the true character of the hymn. For the most part the precentor or organist has it completely in his power to give the tempo in which a song should be sung. If he understands his art, by means of the first notes he can determine the mood in which the congregation will unconsciously sing throughout the entire hymn. Alterations of the melody by means of flourishes and so-called ornamentation are things that are entirely unsuitable for hymn singing and especially despoil it. This sounds most disgusting of all when the entire congregation strives to imitate the precentor, and can not sing any note of the melody without adding one or two notes before and after it. An organist with good taste may, perhaps, add an appropriate embellishment here and there, where it can contribute something to the beautification of the whole (if he does not have to fear ruining the congregational singing thereby, and cause them to sing flourishes), but the singer of a chorale melody should never do this. Simplicity is one of the main beauties of our church and choral singing, whereby we stand closer to the original hymns used in Christian gatherings of worship than any other Christian denomination, which instead of choral singing has introduced other types of

melodies. The simpler a chorale is sung, the more beautiful it sounds. Thus, in singing a chorale not a note belongs which is not written in the chorale book -- at least as far as the melody is concerned.

If there are singers in the congregation who possess enough of a musical ear to be able to sing a proper bass or a middle voice to the melody, they do well to use this talent in public singing, for it unusually beautifies the singing of the congregation. However, it must at all times correspond to the harmony written in the chorale book, or instead of pleasant sounds the most disagreeable discords could thereby arise. In congregations where a regular choir leads the singing, the entire congregation by and by will grow accustomed to singing in correct harmony; where no such choir occurs or can be formed, the schoolmaster can contribute to this end in many ways by the opportunity of singing with the children in the school, so as to awaken the talent for singing in correct harmony which lies somewhat hidden with this or that child.

The congregation should follow the precentor in singing a hymn. Consequently, the precentor himself may never do anything in singing that he does not wish the congregation to sing accordingly or imitate. In every passage of singing he must serve as the example to the congregation, and, therefore, must pay the most careful attention that he is a good model in this respect. He must, therefore:

1. Determine each melody with a clear (yet not overly loud) voice, and sing exactly according to the chorale book, so that the congregation can distinctly grasp each note and be able to learn it.
2. Entirely avoid all ornamentation and flourishes.
3. Pronounce the words of the text clearly, and without adding odd letters to them.
4. Give attention to the content of the hymns so as to begin the singing appropriately, that is, neither too fast nor too slow, neither too loud nor too soft.
5. Demonstrate in his appearance and total demeanor that his heart and soul are filled with devotion, and that he is conscious that he is fulfilling his service before God's eyes.

The organ should not lead the singing, but support it and keep it better in order; it is not mistress, but a humble maidservant in God's house, and playing the organ during the worship service is not the end,

but a means. Hence the following observations, which he truly has to follow, arise concerning the organist when he has to provide an organ accompaniment to congregational singing.

Everything that is not appropriate to the purpose of the congregation at the time should be carefully avoided, and only the suitable style of playing should be selected. Therefore, the organist can not play well unless he himself is thoroughly engrossed with the importance of the particular occasion for the congregation. He may play according to his mood, but his playing must be in accord with the feeling which should permeate the congregation on the occasion at hand. And hereby exists a basic aspect of his art -- that he have sufficient means at his command to be able to serve this purpose. He must be able to play brilliantly, in order to put the congregation in the mood of a festive, exultant joy; he must know how to create softly sounding melodies of sadness, in order to fill the hearts of the congregation with this emotion when it is necessary; he must be able to develop the expression of the most holy, most heavenly devotion by means of tones, in order to inspire the souls of his hearers towards heaven, by means of his playing. If the capability of an organist is not very great, but on the contrary, perhaps, only very mediocre, and far from being in the position to reach the highest level of suitable playing, yet he generally has it in his power not to play entirely too unsuitably, e.g. not to play loudly where he ought to play softly, not to make runs and gay flourishes where they do not belong, not to play sorrowfully on an occasion where he should arouse joyful feelings, etc. With little acquired artistry many an organist contributes more to edifying a congregation than another who is furnished with all sorts of learning in his head and mechanical dexterity in his fingers, if he does not understand using these at the right places.

From the foregoing general remarks about organ playing in worship services, it is, perhaps, useful to abstract a few special rules and call them to the attention of organists.

1. The prelude with which the organist opens a service should at all times be calculated to awaken feelings which should fill the hearts of the hearers during the worship; therefore, above everything it should awaken devotion. Devotion, however has different aspects, as, for example, joyful devotion, sad devotion, etc., and the prelude by the organist must seek to prepare that sort of devotion which is suited to the particular gathering.

2. The same thing holds true for the purpose of the short preludes which are placed before the different hymns or individual verses; these, also, must be in the character of the hymn or verse for which they serve as introduction.

3. The purpose of short interludes (Zwischenspiele) between the lines is not at all to give the organist opportunity to demonstrate the dexterity of his fingers, but they should form an appropriate transition from one line to the other, and an introduction into the beginning of the next line. They must not be too long, but simply allow the singers suitable time to obtain a fresh breath for the next line. In order to be appropriate, they must not only conform to the overall character of the hymn or verse at hand, but also to the sense and expression of the previous and the following lines (yet without trifling). Through well selected Zwischenspiele the organist has an unbelievable power over the singing and the feelings of a congregation.

4. If an organist permits himself to play other harmonies to the melodies than are written in the chorale book, it harms the fine singing of a congregation. Those singers who readily sing a bass or a middle voice to the melody, either lose the courage to do so because of such arbitrary variations, or, if they remain with their customery harmony and sing out while the organist strikes an unfamiliar chord, this naturally creates the most disagreeable dissonances and destroys the good effect of the singing. The organist must therefore be willing to forego his art in this respect in order to conform to the general good.

Finally, the editor of this work adds yet a heartfelt wish that both the chorale book itself as also the ideas which have been briefly developed concerning good church singing and the best means to attain it, may contribute something towards attaining the desire of furthering uniform, lovely, and God-pleasing singing in gatherings for worship in all the congregations of our western world. May the Lord himself, for whose honor our singing and playing resounds in his house, bless likewise our weak endeavors towards this important purpose, and sanctify the gift which he has bestowed upon every member of our congregations for the furtherance of his praise through singing and playing.

He dwells among our songs of praise
Which we in weakness to Him raise
From here on earth below.
Some day we'll sing in holy choirs
To honor God's redemptive powers,
Which from his throne do flow;
And with th'eternal hosts we'll sing,
Thrice holy to his glorious name.

There are several interesting observations which one can make concerning this preface. The vehemence with which the editors attack interpolations and ornamentations during the actual singing of a chorale would seem to indicate that these abuses were rather common. It is interesting to observe, however, that this attack against embellishment applies only to singing the melodic line, and that other types of embellishment -- such as congregational singing in harmony -- are condoned and even encouraged, so long as the harmony does not depart from that specified by the figured bass in the chorale book. While those persons singing the soprano and bass lines could follow the parts notated in the chorale book, altos or tenors would have had to improvise their parts. This was not as difficult as it might seem to us today, since singers were accustomed to using melodies with a figured bass, and the singing schools as well as the singing classes in the parochial schools taught the proper way to sing in harmony with other voices. Since the preface states that congregations which have choirs gradually grow accustomed to correct singing in harmony, it is obvious that the normal procedure for the choirs themselves was to sing in harmony, and one may assume that most of the choral performances mentioned in this study were presented as part-music. In view of the emphasis which the church schools laid upon music, it seems quite likely that the volunteer church choirs of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were as good if not better than comparable groups today.

From the remarks concerning the organist it is clear that American

Lutheran organists of that day still followed the procedures of playing common to their European counterparts. The services opened with an organ prelude designed to set the proper devotional spirit for the worship itself. The organist was also expected to provide short preludes for the hymns and sometimes a few bars of prelude before each verse. The custom of playing a short interlude between the lines of a chorale at places indicated by the fermata was also preserved from European practices. These Zwischenspiele were intended to serve as a transition from one line to the next. In the hands of a good organist they could be an inspiring addition to the singing. Often, however, they undoubtedly deteriorated into the stereotyped formulas such as those shown in example 8, which is taken from a German collection entitled: Sammlung üblicher alter und neuer Kirchen-Melodien in enger Harmonie, mit Zwischenspielen und Text für Orgel oder Pianoforte, published in Gera in 1823.

Other Chorale Books for Choirs and Singing Schools

While the 1813 chorale book was an official collection designed for congregational use, virtually all the other German chorale and tune books which were published in this country represent private ventures designed primarily for choirs and singing schools. These books were basically non-denominational, but since they had wide use in Lutheran as well as other congregations, it is relevant to give them at least some consideration in this study.

ALLEIN GOTT IN DER HÖH' SEY u.

EXAMPLE 8

Wir lo - ben preis'n, an - be - ten dich;
Dass du, Gott Va - ter! e - wig - lich
für dei - ne Ehr wir dan - - ken
re-gierst ohn' al - les Wan - - - ken.
Ganz un-er- mess'n ist
dei - ne Macht; fort g'schieht, was dein Will'
hat be- dacht; wohl uns des fei - nen
Her - - ren!
Optional reading
This is a corrected reading as found in the back of the book.

INDEPENDENT MUSIC PUBLISHERS

Conrad Doll's Sammlung geistlicher Lieder nebst Melodien ("Collection of Spiritual Songs with Their Melodies")[56] is the earliest known German-American singing book in which the music is presented in parts along with the text. Doll was the son of John Doll, schoolmaster at the Reformed Church school in Lancaster, who later served as organist of that church. An introduction explains the rudiments of music and singing, following the format so typical of almost all the American tunebooks of this period. According to Brown's article, Doll took seventeen of his songs from Caspar Bachofen's Musicalisches Halleluja, thirty-four from Johannes Schmidlin's Singendes und spielendes Vergnügen reiner Andacht,[57] and one from Caspar Zollikofer's Gebät-Music.[58] These three composers and compilers were the outstanding representatives of Swiss hymnody in the mid-eighteenth century, so if Doll's collection was not especially original, at least it reflected good taste.

In 1803 Adam Arnold edited a collection called:

> Geistliche Ton-Kunst, enthaltend die vornehmsten Kirchen-Melodien, die bey allen Religious-Verfassungen gebräuchlich, -- auf vier Stimmen gesetzt: und mit den vornehmsten musicalischen Stücken, sammt hinreichenden Unterricht versehen; zur Uebung der Jugend ("Spiritual Art of Music, Containing the Most Distinguished Church Melodies, Usable with All Religious Denominations, Set in Four Voices: and with the Most Noble Musical Passages, Provided Together with Sufficient Instruction for the Practice of the Young").[59]

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[56] (Lancaster: By the author, 1798). See Robert B. Brown and Frank X. Braun, "The Tunebook of Conrad Doll," The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America, XLII (July, 1948), 229-238.

[57] (Zurich: Bürkli, 1752).

[58] (St. Gall: Weniger, 1738).

[59] (Elizabeth-[Hägers-]Taun, Maryland: Johann Gruber, 1803).

This publication must have had a relatively limited circulation, for while the staves are printed along with the texts, all the notes and musical signs have been written by hand. The scribe was very neat and did a good job, at least as far as the appearance is concerned.

The preface begins by observing how music in the church service elevates one's devotions, makes the truth more perceptible, and ennobles the feelings of the soul. It then laments that the Germans have not been more concerned with improving church music, and that this book hopes to fulfill that lack. (This was ten years before the 1813 Choral-Buch.) However, the editor remarks that there is another shortcoming in church music which he alone can not cure, namely that each hymn should be bound to one suitable melody, and this was very seldom the case. If the music is tied to the text, it makes a stronger impression upon the soul than if this is not the case. The music and the words must awaken the same feelings; otherwise the music becomes offensive and hinders the text. In order to alleviate this problem, the editor claims that he has included a large number of melodies expressive of all types of feelings. He also observes that the hymns should agree with the sermon theme for the day, since if a preacher speaks on atonement while the schoolmaster sings "Lobt Gott ihr Christen allzugleich," a disagreeable lack of harmony will result.

The copy of Arnold's book which exists in the Newberry Library, Chicago, is of special interest because of the bookplate which appears on the inside of the front cover. This is a printed bookplate showing an eagle

wearing a national shield and clutching three arrows in its claws. Above the eagle's head are thirteen stars, and over these stars in a semi-circular inscription, the word "Liberty." Below the eagle one reads the following: "Rebecca Henkel, Neumarket, Schenandoah County, Virginien." The Henkel family was the most prominent family of Lutheran clergymen in the southern states, and we shall hear more of this name in the next chapter.

Pages v through xiv of the prefatory matter contain the rules for singing and an introduction to music, following the familiar tunebook pattern. One of the paragraphs emphasizes moderation by saying:

> In a singing society the high notes in all parts must be sung softly and clearly, but not weakly; the low tones full and heartily, but not raucously; the bass voice earnestly and majestically; the tenor firmly and charmingly; the alto softly and attractively; the soprano delightfully and angelically.[60]

The preface also contains a discussion on how to determine the proper tempo from the time signature and the notation, a procedure which we shall consider below.

After the preface one finds eighty-six pages of music written in open score on four staves. The text of the first verse is printed in the space between the second and third staves, while additional verses appear at the bottom of the page. Reading from top to bottom, the clefs are treble, alto, treble, and bass; the respective voices are descant, alto, tenor, and

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[60] Page v.

bass. Up to page 58 almost all the settings are of old German hymns in a simple, chordal style, with the melody in the tenor (being sung an octave lower than written, if men's voices were used). From pages 59 to 86 one finds newer hymns and several fuguing tunes, mostly from English sources. These include tunes such as "Albany," "Bedford," "St. Georges," "Sounding Joy," "Waterford," etc., but with all the texts in German. The back of the book contains an index of such Lutheran and Reformed hymns as can be sung to the melodies therein, listing several hundred of the most popular German texts.

Turning to the musical style, one finds that only four hymns in the entire collection conclude with a full chord in four-part harmony. With two exceptions every piece in a major key ends with a chord comprised only of the root and the third, usually with the bass and tenor singing the root in octaves, while the third is in the alto and the tripled root in the soprano. The two exceptions end with open fifths -- truly a mark of conservatism for 1803! Every hymn in a minor key closes on a chord consisting only of the root and the fifth; the fifth appears in the alto while the root is doubled in the other voices. During the hymns, other than at final cadences, the chords almost always contain complete triadic harmony. One can explain the absence of full chords at the beginning by saying that it was easier to give the pitch if a piece started primarily at the unison, but this same argument can hardly hold true for the final cadence. In all probability these harmonizations open and close with incomplete harmony because the composers wanted their music to sound

this way, and not necessarily for any practical reasons. This absence of full triads at the beginning and the end is also characteristic of many other tunebooks, both German and English.

Three other collections which, while not specifically Lutheran, sometimes probably appeared in Lutheran choirs and schools, were Joseph Doll's Leichter Unterricht in der Vocal Musik,[61] Isaac Gerhart and Johann Eyer's Choral-Harmonie,[62] and Johannes Rothbaust's Die Franklin Harmonie.[63] All three of these collections were sufficiently popular to warrant subsequent editions, and there is considerable overlapping material among them -- a fact that is hardly surprising since all three were the work of the same publisher.

The introduction to Rothbaust's compilation is virtually identical to that in Doll's. One finds the usual fundamental rules of music and singing, the names of the notes, etc. Perhaps the most interesting feature of these introductions is their method for determining the speed or tempo of a selection by means of the time signature and a tactus. In order to beat the sign of "C," Rothbaust tells his readers:

> The first beat, strike the end of your fingers on what you beat upon; the second beat, bring down the heel of the hand; the third beat, raise the hand half way up; the fourth beat, raise your hand clear up.[64]

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[61] (Harrisburg: John Wyeth, 1810).

[62] (Harrisburg: John Wyeth, 1818).

[63] (Harrisburg: John Wyeth, 1821).

[64] From the second edition of Rothbaust's collection, printed in English as The Franklin Harmony and Easy Instructor in Vocal Music (Chambersburg, Pennsylvania: Henry Ruby, 1830), p. v.

For 3/4 time one follows a similar procedure, except for omitting the third step and going directly to the fourth. Rothbaust's suggested tempi correspond to the following chart:

C = 4 beats = 𝅝 = 4 seconds

𝄵 = 2 beats = 𝅝 = 2 seconds

2/4 = 2 beats = 𝅗𝅥 = 1/3 quicker than the beats under 𝄵

3/2 = 3 beats = 𝅝. = 3 seconds

3/4 = 3 beats = 𝅗𝅥. = 1/2 again faster than the beats under 3/2

3/8 = 3 beats = ♩. = 1/3 quicker than the beats under 3/4

6/4 = 2 beats = 𝅝. = 2 seconds

6/8 = 2 beats = 𝅗𝅥. = 1/2 again quicker than the beats for 6/4

Perhaps music historians who thought that the last remnants of the tactus and mensural notation disappeared during the early baroque will be surprised to find these vestiges of an old art in early nineteenth-century tunebooks, but this method of determining tempo was the rule rather than the exception in American church music of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Britton's excellent study[65] of the introductions in American tunebooks observes that almost all the eighteenth-century collections conceived of the time signature as being a metronomic indication. The precise durations for a given note under a particular signature may vary slightly in different books, but they basically follow a

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[65] Allen P. Britton, Theoretical Introductions in American Tune-Books to 1800, Ph. D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1949 (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1949).

pattern similar to that given above. The most common difference is that when both the signs "𝔠" and "ↄ" or "𝔇" are used, a whole note under "𝔠" would have a duration of three seconds, while under "ↄ" or "𝔇" the duration was only two seconds.

The first edition of Rothbaust's tunebook contained 144 pages, including the index, while the second edition had 192 pages of music; the second edition of Doll's book, printed in 1814, was enlarged with a supplementary volume the next year. Thus both collections seemed to grow with the passage of time. Both are printed in shaped or "sol-fa" notation, and both also show a distinct influence from non-German sources by including New England-style fuguing tunes with German texts. All the selections in Doll's book, including the supplementary 1815 volume, are for three voices.

Gerhart and Eyer's Choral-Harmonie represents a different type of tunebook from either Doll's or Rothbaust's, though all three have much in common. It was compiled primarily for Lutheran and Reformed use, rather than for general use by all German-speaking elements of the population. Gerhart was a Reformed pastor in Freyburg, while Eyer was an organist in Selinsgrove; the foreward was written by J. P. Schindel, Lutheran minister in Sunbury. The book met with sufficient success that a second edition was printed in 1822. It primarily contains chorales arranged in chordal style for four voices, although more elaborate fuguing tunes with German texts appear in the back.

Example 9 reproduces the first chorale in this collection. As usual, it is arranged so that the melody and bass lines are in adjacent voices, thus making it easier to read for a keyboard player accustomed to figured basses. Most of the tunebooks made such concessions to keyboard players, thus partially explaining why the scores do not follow the modern arrangement with the melody in the top voice as one reads down the score. Another reason was that these collections were basically conservative, and the old custom of the tenor cantus firmus still lingered. Generally speaking, tunebooks of this era gave the melody to the tenor, while the soprano and alto had parts which primarily filled out the harmony. Despite the fact that a treble clef usually precedes the tenor part, the melody was sung an octave lower than it was written. This point is especially clear in the introduction to Arnold's tunebook (page vii), which states that the second line on the staff in the tenor voice, indicated by a regular treble clef, has the same pitch as the fourth space in the bass clef. On the other hand, according to the preference of the choir director, women's voices might also have been used in singing the melody line at its actually notated pitch level, either alone or in octaves with the tenor.

A paragraph from an English-language tunebook by John J. Husband sheds a little light on this matter of doubling the melody in octaves. It reads:

> The Compiler...would recommend the melody, or what is commonly called the Tenor part, but more properly the Treble, to be sung by the women as well as men in the congregation, accompanied with the Bass. It is always the practice in London, and recommended by MR. LAW, of New England and MR. COLE, of Baltimore...[66]

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[66] A Collection of Hymns and Psalms, for the Use of Singing Schools and Musical Societies (Lancaster: Wm Greear, 1807), p. iv.

HERR JESU CHRIST! DICH ZU UNS WEND

EXAMPLE 9

Herr Je-su Christ! dich zu uns wend, Den heil-
gen Geist du zu uns send, Der uns mit sei-ner Gnad
regier, Und uns den weg zur Wahr-heit führ.

In other words, sometimes it was customary to double the tenor at the octave. Of course, the very fact that Husband found it necessary to point out that the women could sing the melody also indicates that often this was not done. Therefore, the problem of whether the melody line was a tenor or a soprano part -- or both -- undoubtedly depended upon the circumstances.

Joseph Funk's Die allgemein nützliche Choral-Music ("The Generally Useful Choral Music")[67] is more like a chorale book than a tunebook in that all the settings consist of only the soprano and bass voices of German hymn tunes. The familiar fuguing tunes for three or four voices are conspicuous by their absence. However, the first twenty-four pages of the eighty-page volume comprise a typical introduction to the art of singing such as one finds in most tunebooks, and the music is printed in shaped notation -- a certain indication of intended use in singing schools, since the organists and most of the precentors who used chorale books could read regular musical notation. Funk himself was a Mennonite, but as the title to his collection says, he intended this volume to be generally useful. The inter-denominational character of the book is shown by the fact that a Reformed pastor, Rev. John Brown, assisted in compiling the volume, and Solomon Henkel, of the famous Lutheran family, bore a share of the publishing costs. In 1815 Henkel also printed a broadside seeking subscriptions to the forthcoming tunebook.[68]

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[67] (Harrisonburg, Virginia: Laurentz Wartmann, 1816).

[68] Klaus G. Wust, "German Printing in Virginia, a Check List, 1789-1834," Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland, XXVIII (1953), 61-62.

Many of the tunes are from Reformed sources, but after each title a number in parentheses indicates its location in the Mennonite hymnal, another number shows its metric grouping as found in the Erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung, while special letters refer to the metric groups of Das neu eingerichtete Gesangbuch.[69] Obviously Funk intended to live up to the title of his collection, as well as not to miss any potential sales! While this book found considerable acceptance among Lutheran churches in Virginia and the South, it is doubtful if it had much circulation in Pennsylvania, since the 1813 chorale book provided a collection that was far larger and also better suited to the 1786 hymnal.

In 1824 John G. Schmauk edited a collection under the title:

> Sammlung religioser deutscher Gesaenge, nebst einem kurzen fasslichen Unterricht zum Singen, eingerichtet für oeffentlichen Gottesdienst und Singeschulen ("Collection of Sacred German Songs Arranged for Public Worship and Singing Schools, Along with a Short, Comprehensive Course of Instruction in Singing").[70]

This volume is of special interest because Schmauk was organist for St. Michael's and Zion Congregation as well as a German teacher in the academy supported by the church. Consequently, one may expect that this collection includes some of the music sung by the choir of Zion Church during the last few years of Helmuth's ministry. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the third number in Schmauk's collection,

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[69] A hymnbook for the Lutherans in Virginia published at New Market by Ambrose Henkel in 1810.

[70] (Philadelphia: n. p., 1824).

"Preise, Jerusalem, den Herrn," fits the description of the opening anthem sung by the choir of Zion Church during the evening service which was part of the tercentennial celebration of the Reformation.[71] Likewise, number 75 appears to be a choral arrangement of the hymn, "Stärk' uns, Mittler, Dein sind wir," which the congregation of Zion sang on Palm Sunday, 1824, the same year that Schmauk published this volume.[72] A chordal, hymn-like arrangement of Helmuth's popular passion hymn, "Dort auf jenem Todtenhügel," arranged for three voices, is number 85 in Schmauk's collection. Schmauk's arrangement of "Dort auf jenem Todtenhügel" is given in example 1, while the choral version of "Preise, Jerusalem, den Herrn" appears in Appendix I.

Immediately after the extremely ornate title page, there is a very brief, eight-page introduction to the art of music and singing. It contains basic information regarding musical notation and concludes with a group of scale and interval exercises for use by choirs and singing schools. Then follow 115 different pieces on an even 100 pages. Most of the arrangements are for three voices, but a few call for four. While many of the settings are short, in a straightforward chordal style, others are much longer with points of imitation and motives answering back and forth among the voices. A few of the longer anthems are sectionalized, including

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[71] Cf. item 1817 in the list of Helmuth imprints.

[72] Cf. item 1824 in the list of Helmuth imprints.

changes of mood and tempo within a number. As was customary in most tunebooks, Schmauk does not credit his sources. In keeping with the practices of the time, the score is so arranged that the melody is always adjacent to the bass line. Schmauk does not call the voices by their names, but simply by the designations "bass," "first voice," "second voice," etc.

Apparently another volume especially for the organist accompanied the collection, or else the organist was expected to fill in various preludes and interludes on his own. This is evident from the fact that occasionally at the beginning or in the middle of a number all the voices may rest simultaneously for as long as twelve or so bars. Obviously the music could not have completely stopped at these places, so one must assume that this particular volume was for the choir while the organist performed from a different copy. "Preise, Jerusalem, den Herrn" clearly shows this feature of the writing.

Although it is beyond the chronological limits of this dissertation, one should mention that Schmauk edited another tunebook in 1833 under the title: Deutsche Harmonie oder mehrstimmige Gesänge für deutsche Singeschulen und Kirchen ("German Harmony or Polyphonic Songs for German Singing Schools and Churches").[73] This collection is patterned after the 1824 volume, but it is more than double the length of the earlier publication and also contains a much longer and more detailed foreword.

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[73] (Philadelphia: n. p., 1833). A second edition printed by Schäfer and Koradi appeared in 1847.

An examination of the musical difficulty of Schmauk's collections as well as that of the other music we have considered shows that the singing schools and church choirs of the time must have been reasonably proficient groups. One sometimes takes a very condescending attitude towards all early American musical performances without necessarily observing the facts. In all probability the average volunteer choir of that day spent more time in rehearsal and learning the music for Sunday services than is true today. Life moved at a more leisurely pace than in our modern world, and choir members were both able and willing to devote considerable time to singing and rehearsing. The success of the singing schools themselves is adequate proof of this fact. Moreover, the large number of hymn and anthem books that were published during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries clearly shows that a strong demand must have existed for music of this nature, not only in the Lutheran and Reformed churches, but in other denominations, too. Until a thorough study has been made of the musical material in these dozens of tunebooks, a true picture of musical life in America at this time will never come into focus.

CHAPTER VI

CHURCHES IN GEORGIA, VIRGINIA, CAROLINA, AND MARYLAND

The Salzburgers in Georgia

On March 11, 1734, after first reaching Charleston, South Carolina, four days earlier, a shipload of Lutheran refugees from the province of Salzburg, Austria, arrived in the colony of Georgia. They were the first group of German immigrants which the English government was assisting to emigrate to America as a means of increasing the population of Georgia in order to make that colony a stronger bulwark against any expansionist aims from Spanish Florida. After temporarily staying in Savannah for a short while, the Salzburgers soon moved inland about twenty-five miles, where they founded the town of Ebenezer (meaning "Rock of Help").

Unlike the first German settlers in New York and Pennsylvania, who came to America in scattered groups without any spiritual guidance, the Salzburg immigrants were led by two young pastors, Johann Martin Bolzius and Israel Christian Gronau. These two ministers not only attended to the religious needs of the colony, but also served as general administrators who handled financial matters as well as working in liason with Oglethorpe and the representatives of the Crown.

Like the reports which Muhlenberg sent back to the church authorities in Halle, Bolzius and Gronau sent accounts to Samuel Urlsperger,

Lutheran pastor in Augsburg, which were in turn published periodically in Germany as a means both of reporting upon the missionary activity and also to incite the German Lutherans to undertake even greater missionary efforts. Like the Halle reports for Pennsylvania, Urlsperger later published the accounts from Georgia in a two-volume collected edition under the title: Der ausführlichen Nachrichten von der Königlich-Gross-Britannischen Colonie Saltzburgische Emigranten in America ("The Full Reports from the Royal British Colony of Salzburg Emigrants in America").[1] Thanks to these volumes, it is possible to obtain a detailed account of the Salzburgers' life in Georgia, including their hymn singing and worship.

Because of their circumstances the Salzburg immigrants were unable to develop the large-scale musical activities of their Lutheran brethren in Pennsylvania. In the first place, their numbers were small, and even at the peak of the settlement's prosperity around 1770 the total population was not over fifteen hundred -- a little more than half the seating capacity of Zion Church in Philadelphia at the time. During the first couple decades of the colony's existence the settlers had to struggle to survive, let alone develop a flourishing musical art. Yet despite all these handicaps the Salzburgers were a singing people, and German chorales were not only a part of their worship, but of their daily life. Without the aid of an organ or other keyboard instruments they met

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[1] (2 vols.; Halle: Wäysenhaus, 1746).

in little groups both at home and in church to learn singing, and those with better voices learned to read musical notation and to sing in four-part harmony.

Hymns and hymn texts were a constant part of their living. When they first began their emigration from Austria, the diaries for November 8, 1733, report that they heard a discourse on the hymn, "Welch eine Sorg und Furcht soll nicht bey Christen wachen," going from word to word through the text, and upon completing this they did likewise with the last verse of "Erleucht mich, Herr, mein Licht."[2] Then they concluded their study by meditating upon "Mein Gott, du weisst am allerbesten," a text written by a pastor in Halberstadt.

In some respects one might say that this group of refugees sang and prayed their way across Germany, down the Rhine, and over to England, from whence they departed for Georgia. Bolzius and Gronau, who were officially ordained on November 10, 1733, by Rev. Laue, court preacher at Wernigerode, conducted daily devotions with the Salzburgers both morning and evening. When the party reached Wernigerode on November 9, they momentarily rested from their journey, and as they gathered together their hymns included "Singt dem Herrn, nah und fern," "Ehre sey Jesu mit Freuden gesungen," and "Alle Menschen müssen sterben."[3]

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[2] Ibid., I, 40-41.

[3] Ibid., pp. 41-42.

On December 22, after arriving in Dover, England, the emigrants left the ship to attend a special dinner which their English hosts had prepared for them. Before eating they sang a few hymns, and their pious spirit and joy was said to be so great that the music moved many of the persons present to tears.[4] Afterwards they held a short worship service, which included the familiar hymn to the Holy Spirit, "Komm, heiliger Geist."

The liturgy which Gronau and Bolzius used was that of the Lutheran court chapel in London. The accounts for December 24, 1733, state that after morning prayer the Rev. Butienter, the court preacher who had come to Dover to meet the Salzburgers, met with Bolzius and Gronau to outline the church orders of the Royal German Chapel in London, and to show them how to conduct services in the most edifying manner.[5] The next day Butienter returned to London, and the diary mentions that the Salzburgers celebrated Christmas with singing and prayer. Actually they had a chance to celebrate Christmas twice, since on December 27 they adjusted their reckoning to the English calendar, which was several days behind the German calendar they were using.

While crossing the Atlantic the little group held worship and song gatherings whenever the weather and seasickness permitted. On January 28, 1734, there was a fire scare on board ship, which fortunately turned

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[4] Ibid., p. 50.

[5] Ibid., pp. 51-52.

out to be false. However, it created considerable panic, and afterwards the Salzburgers gathered to sing, "Ich will, so lang ich lebe hier" and "So kommet vor sein Angesicht," along with prayer and scripture reading. The English commissary, Philipp George Friedrich von Reck, who was charged with conducting the transport to Georgia, mentions this incident in his journals and then adds: "Being recovered from our Fright, we joined in our Praises unto the Lord, singing Hymns and Psalms, promising before him, never to offend his holy Majesty by any known Sin whatsoever."[6] There are various similar accounts of prayer services both during and after storms. On February 18 the ship was in a severe storm during which the Germans prayed and sang, but some of the English persons on board panicked.[7]

Undoubtedly the most joyous singing during the entire trip occurred on March 3, 1734, when the crew first tentatively sighted land. The Germans immediately took up the strains of "Herr Gott, dich loben wir." When the sighting of the Carolina coast was officially confirmed two days later, they again sang the same hymn.

On March 14 the Salzburgers held their first services on land, in a chapel provided by the English in Savannah, and five days later, on March 19, Bolzius' diary mentions a preparatory service for communion which

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[6] An Extract of the Journals of Mr. Commissary Von Reck, Who Conducted the First Transport of Saltzburgers to Georgia: and of the Reverend Mr. Bolzius, One of Their Ministers (London: M. Downing, 1734), p. 3. In MCAL, reel 21.

[7] Urlsperger, I, 69.

followed the form used in the German chapel of St. James in London.[8] From the very first moment of their arrival in Georgia the Salzburgers continually repeated their aim of establishing a school for the instruction of the young -- an aim of great importance for singing, since this would be one of the principal subjects of instruction. During the first year at Ebenezer school was held in the residence of the two pastors.

As one might have expected, when Gronau and Bolzius first led their flock to Ebenezer they held a service of worship before distributing the parcels of land. Before the distribution they all sang "Wer nur den lieben Gott lässt walten," and afterwards the hymn was "Amen, das ist, es werde wahr." Thereupon the site and the river flowing nearby were officially named Ebenezer.[9]

At this time most of the Salzburgers had either to follow a precentor or to sing from memory, since only a few hymnbooks were available. A letter dated March 22, 1734, from Bolzius to Mr. Neumann, secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, remarks that only a few persons have Bibles and songbooks, and that there is a great desire for such supplies.[10] This shortage of Bibles and hymnals existed during the remainder of 1734, for on October 31 an entry in the official diary states that every time someone returns from Savannah the colony

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[8] An Extract of the Journals of Mr. Commissary Von Reck..., p. 44.

[9] Urlsperger, I, 212-213. Because of the unhealthy climate and for better transportation, the site of Ebenezer was moved in 1736 to a nearby location on the Savannah River.

[10] Ibid., p. 208.

hopes to receive news from Germany as well as something concerning their books and other supplies. Again on November 10 the pastors lamented that every time Sunday occurs they wish that they had songbooks and Bibles to put into the hands of the congregation. During November, however, at least the colony could rejoice in the completion of a new schoolhouse.[11]

Finally on January 20, 1735, a second transport of Salzburgers arrived in Ebenezer accompanied by a large chest full of Bibles, catechisms, ABC-books, devotional material, and the long-awaited hymnbooks. The people received this news with great joy, and the books were distributed immediately to the congregation.[12] Thus on February 9, 1735, Gronau and Bolzius happily reported:

> Up to this time the hymns had to be lined out for the congregation at the service. However, since now through God's fatherly provision a good number of hymnbooks have been sent to us, and most of the people can read, we have no more need for lining out; this also appears to be much more agreeable and edifying to the congregation. The few people who are not yet able to read shall thereby, perhaps, be all the more inspired to devote greater diligence to this end, and to attend our private instruction since a few hymnals have been put by in consideration of them. During the week we also take care to sing those hymns with the children in school which we will sing on the next Sunday before or after the delivery of God's word, and to make the children so familiar with them that even the smallest can sing along during the service. At evening prayer we still have to use lining out most of the time [due in part to the poor light] ...[13]

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[11] Ibid., pp. 267, 270, and 272.

[12] Ibid., pp. 23 and 288.

[13] Ibid., pp. 294-295.

An entry in the official diary for March 14, 1735, shows the manner in which the Salzburgers used hymn singing at funerals: (1) A small bell is tolled to announce the funeral. (2) After the school children and a few people have gathered where the remains lie, they sing a funeral hymn and read a biblical selection concerning death. (3) In the procession to the grave the school children and the schoolmaster follow the pall-bearers, and the other mourners come thereafter. There is no singing during the procession, but after the burial the people sing, "Nun lasst uns den Leib begraben." (4) A few comforting selections from scripture, prayer, and a few verses from an appropriate hymn close the ceremonies.[14]

The Ebenezer congregation could ill afford very many deaths, however, for on March 16, 1735, only fifty-five persons received communion. Of course, this did not represent the total community, but it indicates the size of the congregation. At this same communion service the diary mentions that during the distribution they sang a passion hymn. Without hymnals it would not have been possible to sing during the distribution because of the confusion which lining out would create.

A letter dated February 6, 1735, from Bolzius and Gronau to Urlsperger reports that they were still holding public worship and performing pastoral acts according to the London court chapel church orders. The services opened with prayer followed by an Old Testament lesson and the

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[14] Ibid., p. 304.

singing of a few hymns. The sermon came after the Epistle and the Gospel, whereupon there was general church prayer, another hymn, and the reading of a chapter from the New Testament. During the final part of the service it was customary for the children to recite a psalm or (during afternoon worship) an important section of the catechism.[15] Apparently "Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier" was regularly sung during the children's portion of the service, since the official diary for December 7, 1735, states that in the church year just ended the school children normally recited a psalm before the singing of this hymn. However, in the new church year the pastors planned to substitute catechetical instruction in place of the psalm recitation.[16]

Eight years later, in 1743, Bolzius writes that the church services tried to maintain as much ceremonial and ritual as serves edification and good order. Three hymns were regularly sung at both the morning and the afternoon worship. During the morning service the pastor read the Epistle between the first two hymns, while during the afternoon worship the children recited either from the catechism or appropriate verses between the first two hymns.[17]

Early in 1736 a new transport of Salzburg emigrants arrived in the Ebenezer area, materially boosting the size of the colony. Under June 3

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[15] Ibid., p. 890.

[16] Ibid., p. 459.

[17] Ibid., II, 1919.

of that year an entry in the diary observes that since there were now more children in school, they had better opportunities to introduce new melodies to the congregation. The children learned the new music in school, and then they sang these tunes during evening prayer or public worship whenever they had an opportunity. The adults followed the text in their hymnals until they, too, knew the melody, and in this way the congregation was able to learn many new hymns and melodies. The diary mentions that the people had a great liking for the edifying hymns in the first part of the Halle hymnbook, which the Salzburgers were using at this time.[18] At least this was probably the collection in general use after September, 1736, when a new shipment of Bibles and hymnbooks came from London and Germany, enabling all the people to be well supplied with books.[19]

John Wesley, a man who was later to become one of the greatest names in English hymnody, was a visitor to the Salzburg settlement during the two years he spent in Georgia from 1735 until 1737. He was acquainted with the Lutheran pastors and was considerably impressed by the singing of the Salzburgers and the salutary effect it had upon their worship. Wesley himself often practiced singing the German hymns, and the manner in which the Salzburg colony used music unquestionably influenced his own thinking concerning the place of music in worship.[20]

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[18] Ibid., I, 695 and 990.

[19] Ibid., pp. 739-740.

[20] Ibid., p. 1092.

During the winter of 1737-1738 educational and musical activities at Ebenezer received an important boost by the construction of a large new orphanage. Despite its name, this building was not so much an orphanage as a church, school, and community center. Because of these new facilities the children's choir was even better able to sing for services of the type mentioned in the diary for November 26, 1737 (before the orphanage was finished). The entry under this date says that on the preceding evening the children sang "Fahre fort, Zion, fahre fort im Licht" during the prayer service, and that such performances gave great satisfaction to the parents as well as to other adults. The children memorized the songs so that they could sing in the evening without a precentor and with only one candle burning.[21] Until the orphanage was completed, a large cabin had served as a church for the Ebenezer congregation.

Children who attended school in the orphanage (some students boarded there in addition to the actual orphans) had a very busy day. After washing and dressing in the morning, one of the pastors would lead them in a service which comprised a hymn, scripture reading, a short address, prayer, and one or two verses from a closing hymn. The children spent the entire morning in school and again attended school from two until four in the afternoon. During the remainder of the day they assisted in various chores connected with the orphanage, and often they had to sing for evening

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[21] Ibid., p. 2169. Due to an error in pagination, the volume skips from p. 1099 to p. 2000, and then continues regularly.

services, such as the one mentioned in the preceding paragraph.[22]

An entry in the diary for June 18, 1738, states that Bolzius planned a new musical undertaking for the Ebenezer community, namely the organization of a choir or singing school. The reason for this was that while the school children were able to help the congregation learn new hymns and melodies, once they grew up and were not in school they could no longer teach new tunes to the poorer singers, even though they had good voices. Therefore, beginning on this date, the pastors resolved to spend an hour after Sunday catechize teaching unknown melodies to the adults. A few women with good voices and some musical ability first sang the melody along with the pastor, and then the men and children joined in afterwards. During the first such singing hour they learned "Wo ist mein Schäflein, das ich liebe."[23] The next week Bolzius was ill and was unable to hold the singing hour. Even so, however, two English officials from Savannah who were visiting the colony at that time greatly enjoyed the regular singing by the Salzburgers.[24]

A few weeks later, on August 6, the diary reports that the Sunday afternoon singing hours were progressing very satisfactorily. People were attending very well and were also enjoying themselves, especially when they were able to sing the new tunes in church without hesitation. A few

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[22] Ibid., p. 2207.

[23] Ibid., p. 2371.

[24] Ibid., p. 2375.

of the women and children had good voices and were able to pick up the melodies quickly, thus enabling the others to follow them. Among the hymns which they had learned up to and including August 6 were "Wo ist mein Schäflein," "Mein Vater zeuge mich," "Wie wohl ist mir, o Freund der Seelen," and "Hier legt mein Sinn sich vor dir nieder." After they had learned all the melodies in the first part of the Halle (Freylinghausen) hymnal, they intended to take up the second part. The pastors also endeavored to correct errors which had slipped into their performance of some of the old hymns, and of which they were not aware until they had a chance to compare their singing with the notation.[25]

The singing hours continued on Sunday afternoons until November, 1738, when an entry in the diary observes that because of the shorter days it has been necessary to drop the singing instruction. Instead, they sang unfamiliar tunes during evening prayer.[26] Sometimes the singers did not use the melody in the Halle hymnal if they found one which they thought was better suited. This was true of "Dich Jesu loben wir," for which the diary reports that they had found a simpler tune than the one printed in the hymnbook.[27]

During 1739 Bolzius was troubled by some sort of a mouth and throat ailment that hindered his work with the singing instruction. While it

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[25] Ibid., p. 2405.

[26] Ibid., p. 2483.

[27] Ibid., p. 2529.

temporarily interrupted the singing hours, music classes in the school went on as usual. An entry in the diary for October 19, 1739, mentions that a choir of twenty voices from the orphanage opened a gathering by singing a hymn, and that the children planned to learn "Lobe den Herrn, o meine Seele," a paraphrase of Psalm 146, as soon as they had time.[28] During the coming month the children must have found the necessary time, for on November 19 they sang the psalm paraphrase by heart at a special thanksgiving service.[29]

Bolzius recovered from his ailment sufficiently to begin leading the singing hours again on December 18, 1739, and he wrote that he planned to continue this activity so long as his health and other work would permit. One of the hymns which they practiced at this rehearsal was "O grosse Freude," which they sang in four-part harmony at a public service either on or around Christmas.[30] At the same time the little choir also sang "Wie kündlich gross sind doch die Wercke" in harmony. The diary reports that this performance of part-music brought much joy and edification to the congregation. Mr. Thilo, a medical practitioner, was said to have a fine bass voice and a good understanding of reading music, thus being very useful in introducing part-music into the church. Since no instruments are mentioned in connection with the performance, and also since Ebenezer had

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[28] Ibid., II, 256.

[29] Ibid., pp. 295-296.

[30] Ibid., pp. 319 and 331.

neither an organ nor any other keyboard instrument at the time, the little choir must have sung without accompaniment.

These experiments in singing part-music during the service were so successful that during the winter of 1739-1740 the choir learned several more songs in four-part harmony. These included "Uns ist geboren Gottes Kind," Urlsperger's "Singt dem Herrn nah und fern," "Mein Salomo, dein freundliches," and "Lasset uns den Herren preisen."[31] The diary also mentions many other hymns which they learned during the winter, some of which they sang in harmony. An entry for January 20, 1740, reads that the singing and learning of the previously unknown hymns from both parts of the Halle hymnal enticed many persons to attend singing classes both on Sunday and during the week.[32] On January 27, for example, a group gathered to learn "Mein Freund zerschmelzt" and "Meine Seele, wilt du ruh'n"; presumably they sang these numbers in parts, although the inference is not completely clear. Under this same date the diary observes that singing a middle voice, descant, tenor, and bass all together adds an edifying amount of variety to the music, and in addition causes the people to sing the melody all the more firmly.[33] From this remark one may assume that the choir not only sang part-music when they presented special numbers, but they also sang in parts when leading congregational singing. From Christmas

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[31] Ibid., pp. 334, 362, and 364.

[32] Ibid., p. 373.

[33] Ibid., p. 378.

until the next Easter the choir was able to learn twenty-nine different hymns.[34]

This fact seems all the more remarkable when one realizes that the church lacked an organ to support the singing. The people felt this lack, however, since the diary for February 15, 1740, complains that they needed a clavier or, if it could be made, a "clavi-cimbel" or regal which would contribute to the praise of God as well as their own edification. No such instruments existed anywhere around Ebenezer, except for a Swiss settler in New Windsor who was said to own some sort of a keyboard instrument. The diary states that the Ebenezer clockmaker did not understand music; otherwise he would have tried to build some sort of clavichord if they could get the strings. Thus, as the diary puts it, they recommended the problem to the care of God, who had already made many impossible things possible.[35]

Mr. Müller, the clockmaker, must have been interested in learning more about music, however, since his name was among those mentioned in the diary for February 20 as desiring to learn to read musical notation. Mr. Thilo had a small class, mostly women, whom he sought to teach the basic rudiments of vocal music. He was especially interested in teaching one boy the alto notes, since that was a voice of which the little choir still lacked sufficient numbers.[36]

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[34] Ibid., p. 466.

[35] Ibid., p. 400.

[36] Ibid., p. 406.

On August 3, 1740, a dozen more hymnbooks sent by Rev. Ziegenhagen, the court preacher in London, arrived in Ebenezer and were gratefully received. The two pastors considered sending them to Savannah, but the Germans there could not have used them since they didn't know even the most familiar melodies.[37] Perhaps some of these hymnals were put to good use when the singing hours were resumed in November of 1740, after having been discontinued during the summer months. During the winter of 1740-1741 Bolzius held singing instruction for a half hour after evening prayer every Monday and Wednesday. The first song which they learned was "Sey hochgelobt, barmhertz'ger Gott," and the diary then gives the melody and bass which they used.[38] A month later the diary lists both this hymn and six others -- "Entzünde dich in Andacht," "Auf Zion, auf! auf Tochter," "Eins Christen Hertz sehnt sich," "Wach auf, wach auf, du sichre Welt," "Das Leben unsers Königs siegt," and "Kommt seyd gefasst zum Lammes-Mahl" -- which they had learned in the past four weeks and which they gradually planned to introduce into public worship.[39]

According to a remark under the date of January 18, 1741, the Ebenezer choir had been waiting for a little partbook from Halle which contained various melodies not in the Halle hymnal. ("Wir haben bisher

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[37] Ibid., p. 579.

[38] Ibid., p. 622.

[39] Ibid., p. 643.

immer auf die in einem a parten Büchlein gedruckte Melodeyen von Halle gewartet.")[40] This book is not identified. In these references to singing part-music, one sometimes suspects that only the melody and bass parts were notated, while the alto and tenor voices (or soprano, if the tenor had the melody) improvised "filler" parts. In view of the simple harmonic structure of the music this would have been quite probable, especially if the singers first learned to sing the "filler" harmonies from fully realized four-voice arrangements and then proceeded to harmonize in a similar style with pieces that consisted only of the melody and bass lines.

After September 20, 1741, the Ebenezer congregation no longer had to worship in the orphanage, for on that date they proudly dedicated a new church. Hymns for the dedication included "Komm heiliger Geist, Herre Gott," "Sey Lob und Ehr dem höchsten Gut," and "Sey hochgelobt barmhertzger Gott."[41] The diary does not say what part, if any, the choir took in the services, but in all probability they led the congregational singing. A little more than two months later a fourth transport brought more Salzburg emigrants to Georgia, so the little church was completed just in time to care for a new increase in the number of worshipers.

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[40] Ibid., p. 738. Around 1710 a melody supplement to the first part of the Halle hymnal appeared under the title, Einige theils-neue, theils nicht überal bekante Melodeyen, a little collection of a hundred tunes. Perhaps this is the partbook Bolzius means.

[41] Ibid., p. 1115.

One of the only times that the diary mentions antiphonal singing occurs on January 6, 1742, at services celebrating Epiphany. The entry reads that along with other hymns they sang "O grosse Freude, dass auf der Weyde die Hirten hören" and "Singt dem Herrn nah und fern" with two choirs.[42] In all probability two different groups alternated verses, perhaps between the choir and the congregation or between two sections of the congregation itself. Since both these hymns are among the ones which the choir had learned to sing in harmony, the performance may have been not only antiphonal but harmonized as well. Another mention of antiphonal singing occurs during an informal prayer and hymn service held in Bolzius' dwelling on November 28, 1742. Bolzius states that the people sang "four choice, beautiful hymns in two choirs" -- "O wie selig seyd ihr doch," "Mein Hertze wie wanckest," "Seligstes Wesen, unendliche Wonne," and "Auf, Zion, auf! auf Tochter."[43]

Once again during the winter of 1742-1743 Bolzius held singing classes at the request of the congregation. The diary for November 8, 1742, mentions that many persons, especially women, attended these rehearsals quite willingly.[44] During this winter the singing hours were aided by the fact that they had received copies of the new, combined edition of Freylinghausen's hymnal (printed at Halle in 1741), which contained many melodies

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[42] Ibid., p. 1825. The pagination skips from 1270 to 1771 and then proceeds regularly.

[43] Ibid., p. 2112.

[44] Ibid., p. 2096.

with figured bass as well as the regular hymn texts. Probably these new hymnals were included in the shipment of books which the Salzburgers received from Halle on May 16, 1742.[45] The success of all this emphasis upon proper singing is attested by none other than H. M. Muhlenberg, who first visited Georgia when he came to America. His diary for October 5, 1742, reads: "The dear Salzburgers sing accurately and beautifully..."[46]

On March 7, 1743, the Salzburgers dedicated a small church on their plantation a few miles from Ebenezer so that persons living in this area would not have to travel so far in order to worship. Since this second church called for a second choir to support the singing, the diary expresses the hope that a few persons whom God had given a good voice would form a group to meet at a certain hour in order to learn the hymns, just as was done at Ebenezer. Thus the new congregation would be able to develop more quickly in harmonious singing.[47]

The group of Urlsperger reports which were printed in the 1746 collected edition concluded with the year 1743. One of the last entries, for December 21, mentions that the winter singing classes had become so popular that the people had to move from the pastor's residence to the church, because it was otherwise too cramped and uncomfortable for all the singers.[48] Probably no other fact could more eloquently demonstrate

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[45] Ibid., pp. 1966 and 2099.

[46] Tappert, I, 60.

[47] Urlsperger, II, 2165.

[48] Ibid., p. 2267.

the Salzburgers love for singing.

After 1746 Urlsperger continued the reports from Georgia in a different and somewhat less detailed form under the title:

> Americanisches Ackerwerk Gottes; oder zuverlässige Nachrichten den Zustand der americanisch englischen und von salzburgischen Emigranten erbauten Pflanzstadt Ebenezer in Georgien betreffend, aus dorther eingeschickten glaubwürdigen Diarien genommen, und mit Briefen der dasigen Herren Prediger noch weiter bestättiget ("American Tillage of God, or Trustworthy Reports Concerning the Condition of the English-American Settlement of Ebenezer in Georgia, Built by Salzburg Emigrants; Taken from Reliable Diaries Sent from There, and Still Further Corroborated by Letters from the Pastors There").[49]

An entry for July 23, 1751, mentions the arrival of a large number of an unidentified, "very edifying" collection of hymns, adapted to the various Sundays and festivals. The diary states that they would be able to make very good use of these books since they included very powerful and trust-inspiring songs, and since the members of the congregation already knew the melodies to these hymns except for a few tunes found only in the second part of the Halle hymnal. There were 168 leather-bound copies of this little hymnbook, so all the families in the Ebenezer congregation were able to receive a copy.[50]

Up to this time the Ebenezer congregation had primarily used the first part of the Halle hymnal, as well as the combined hymnal issued at Halle in 1741. An entry in the diary for July 28, 1751, however, mentions

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[49] (Augsburg: n. p., 1754-1767).

[50] Ibid., p. 53.

a service which used the Wernigerode hymnbook,[51] and on November 30, 1752, a shipment of over one hundred copies of the new Wernigerode hymnbook containing 818 different hymns arrived at Ebenezer, along with some hymns written by Ziegenhagen, the court preacher.[52] Moreover, during the summer of 1751 the singing hours included learning some of the new hymns in the Wernigerode collection as well as reviewing old hymns and melodies.[53] It is evident, therefore, that during the years from 1751-1753 the Ebenezer community supplemented the Halle hymnbook with the Wernigerode collection, and one may assume that the congregation used both these hymnals for at least several years thereafter. That the Salzburgers definitely did not replace, but merely supplemented the Halle hymnal is shown by the fact that they received many new abridged editions of the Halle hymnbook in both duodecimo and octavo during June, 1753.[54] The abundance of hymnbooks in Ebenezer at this time was in sharp contrast to the poverty of the young Lutheran congregations in Pennsylvania, but in less than thirty years just the opposite was to be true.

The official diary for August 4, 1751, records another example of the zeal with which the Salzburgers learned to sing their hymns. At this time the singing classes were meeting in Bolzius' residence on Wednesdays and

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[51] Ibid., p. 54. By the context, however, this seems not to refer to the regular Wernigerode hymnal, but to the books which they had received a few days before. Hence these books may have been printed in Wernigerode.

[52] Ibid., p. 267.

[53] Ibid., pp. 63-64.

[54] Ibid., p. 394.

Saturdays. Even though some of the women had small children and other necessary work to tend, they would not let themselves miss the singing instruction. On this same day the group that had been attending the singing classes presented a hymn in church, while the others listened quietly.[55] As Bolzius observes, such a strong desire to learn singing made the task of instruction very easy.

Bolzius continued to guide the Salzburg settlement until his death on November 19, 1765. His first assistant, Gronau, had died in 1745, and the Rev. Herman H. Lembke arrived the next year in order to fill Gronau's vacancy. In 1752 the pastoral authorities in Germany sent a third minister, Rev. Christian Rabenhorst, and some years later a fourth man, Rev. Christopher Triebner, arrived to succeed Lembke. Thus, just before the outbreak of the Revolution Rabenhorst and Triebner were in charge of the settlement. Unfortunately, the Salzburgers could not have had a more unsatisfactory pairing of pastors. Not only were they unable to agree upon important church affairs, but at the outbreak of the Revolution Triebner supported the English while Rabenhorst sympathized with the Americans.[56]

During 1774 the disputes between Triebner and Rabenhorst became so violent that they threatened to destroy the congregations in and around Ebenezer. Consequently, the church authorities in Germany empowered

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[55] Ibid., p. 60.

[56] P[hilip] A. Strobel, The Salzburgers and Their Descendants (Baltimore: T. N. Kurtz, 1855), gives a good survey of the history of the settlement during these years.

Muhlenberg to travel from Pennsylvania to Georgia in an attempt to restore peace to what had once been a strong Lutheran settlement. Muhlenberg did manage to bring about a superficial reconciliation between the two pastors, but with the approaching war even darker days lay ahead for the settlement. Muhlenberg also revised the liturgy used at Ebenezer, altering it so as to be more in conformity with that in use in Pennsylvania. On October 30, 1774, when Muhlenberg preached in the little Lutheran church in Savannah, he noted that "they use the Halle hymnbook and sing well, but the pastor himself must lead the singing because they do not have a cantor."[57] The fruits of the many singing classes at Ebenezer were still evident at the time of Muhlenberg's visit, for on December 18, 1774, he writes that at one of the small churches near Ebenezer "the congregation sings, in a way to gladden one's heart, even the most difficult of the Halle melodies. This is to be ascribed to the late Pastor Boltzius."[58]

Just before the Revolution the Ebenezer congregation was strong enough to erect a fine, new, brick church, but the trouble between the two pastors and the war itself virtually wiped out the congregation. British troops used the church for a stable; Pastor Rabenhorst died during the war, and Pastor Triebner returned to England with the British troops. Although the German authorities sent Rev. John Ernest Bergman as pastor in 1785,[59]

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[57] Tappert, II, 597.

[58] Ibid., p. 646.

[59] Strobel, p. 220.

the church was never able to regain its former strength. Today only the church edifice itself, officially named Jerusalem Church, still remains as a memorial to what was once a flourishing German community.

Unlike the large Lutheran settlements in Pennsylvania, the Salzburgers never exerted much influence upon social and cultural activities outside their own circle. Partly because the Revolution destroyed their community, and partly because the community itself was never very large, the Georgia Salzburgers had only a minor effect upon the development of life in that state. Their place in history derives not from their importance, but from the example which they set. As far as singing was concerned, one can have only respect for these diligent people who conducted singing classes while they still struggled against the wilderness.

German Lutherans in North Carolina

Although some Dutch Lutherans from New York had settled along the Ashley River in South Carolina as early as 1674, and although various Swiss and Palatine emigrants arrived in the Carolinas during the early eighteenth century, the first Lutheran settlements of any size and permanence did not come into existence until after the middle of the eighteenth century. Most of these settlers did not come directly from Germany, but by way of Pennsylvania, following a wagon trail that started in Berks County and meandered south through Maryland, Virginia, and into Carolina.[60] A large

[60] Jacob L. Morgan, Bachman S. Brown, and John Hall (eds.), History of the Lutheran Church in North Carolina (United Evangelical Lutheran Synod of North Carolina, 1953), p. 14. See also G. D. Bernheim,

percentage of the Pennsylvania Germans made their residence in Rowan and Cabarrus counties in North Carolina, where they founded three "mother" churches -- Zion (later called Old Organ) southeast of Salisbury, St. John's in Salisbury, and St. John's (Buffalo Creek) in Cabarrus County, about two miles west of Mt. Pleasant.[61]

Unlike the well organized Salzburgers at Ebenezer, these congregations had difficulty obtaining regular pastors or schoolmasters to care for the spiritual and educational needs of the communities. Finally in 1772, after unsuccessful efforts to secure help from authorities in Pennsylvania, the congregations at Zion and St. John's (Cabarrus County) sent two commissioners to Europe to seek help from the consistory of Hanover. The consistory responded to their plea and sent Rev. Adolph Nüssmann as pastor, and Gottfried Arend as schoolmaster. (Arend was later ordained into the ministry.) The outbreak of the Revolution broke contact with Germany, but after the cessation of hostilities the congregations were able to interest Rev. Johann Caspar Velthusen, theology professor in the Julius Charles University at Helmstädt, in their problems. Velthusen organized a missionary society and soon sent additional pastors and supplies to the young churches. He also published a much smaller version of the Halle or the Urlsperger reports

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History of the German Settlements and of the Lutheran Church in North and South Carolina (Philadelphia: Lutheran Book Store, 1872).

[61]Carl Hammer Jr., Rhinelanders on the Yadkin: The Story of the Pennsylvania Germans in Rowan and Cabarrus (Salisbury, North Carolina: Rowan Printing Co., 1943).

under the title: Lehrbücher für die Jugend in Nord-carolina ("Textbooks for the Young in North Carolina"), later continued as the Nordcarolinische Kirchennachrichten ("North Carolina Church Reports"). It is from these reports that it is possible to obtain a clear idea of church activities in North Carolina at this time.[62]

Velthusen published four reports in the years 1787 through 1789 -- one each for 1787 and 1789, while two appeared in 1788. Among the books which these reports say were dispatched to Nüssmann in 1787 were three copies of the Anspach hymnal, sent via Rev. Kunze in New York and a copy of the hymnal used by the Lutheran churches in Austria.[63] In 1788 Velthusen's society made a much more substantial gift of hymnbooks by sending fifty copies of the Braunschweig hymnal, accompanied by an example of the hymn collection used by the University of Göttingen.[64] The society also sent copies of the Hamburg ritual, the liturgy of the Evangelical consistory in Vienna, a couple volumes of the Hamburg hymnal, and some examples of hymns and sacred songs compiled by various writers.[65] These supplies were all in addition to a considerable number of Bibles, hymnals, catechisms, and other books which Nüssmann brought with him when he first came to North Carolina in 1773.[66]

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[62] William K. Boyd and Charles A. Krummel, "German Tracts Concerning the Lutheran Church in North Carolina during the Eighteenth Century," The North Carolina Historical Review, VII (January, 1930), 81-82.

[63] Ibid., p. 104.

[64] Ibid., p. 115.

[65] Ibid., p. 131.

[66] Ibid., p. 142.

Nüssmann attached a great deal of importance to good singing and music during public worship. This is shown by an excerpt from a letter of his dated November 12, 1788, which Velthusen published in the Nordcarolinische Kirchennachrichten for 1790:

> The organ is also necessary. It must be one of our most important concerns to restore the song service. During these sixteen years I have, through personal inspection or through reliable reports, had supervision over an area of seven hundred square miles, and found that in proportion to the singing which the people are able to do, do the Churches prosper, thrive and flourish, or decline and fall. This must then by all means be attended to at once...Fifty copies of an excellent hymnbook, purchased reasonably, and distributed wisely in schools and homes, will persuade and induce people to accept it first as a hymnal for school and home, and later as a national hymnbook...[67]

Like the other Lutheran communities throughout America, hymn singing was also an integral part of funeral ceremonies in the North Carolina churches. A letter from Rev. Arnold Roschen written in 1789 states that the mourners first placed the coffin before the front door of the house of the deceased, whereupon the ceremonies proceeded thus:

> The pastor has a song, or at least a few verses, sung, after which he gives a short address of about eight to ten minutes. Meanwhile the lid of the coffin is removed and the women crowd around uttering a pitiful wail. Then the pastor orders the coffin to be closed and placed in a wagon while the people mount their horses. Thus after refreshments of bread and rum at the house of the deceased the procession moves to the church. Upon arriving at the church the pastor commands a halt, the corpse is let down from the wagon, a few verses are sung, the coffin is again

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[67] Ibid., p. 239.

> opened, and while singing the crowd marches by twos to the grave. After the body has been lowered a silent prayer is offered and the grave is filled during the singing of a song. Then still continuing their chant they betake themselves to the church where the funeral sermon is given from the pulpit.[68]

The North Carolina churches followed an order of worship much like that in general use throughout the German Lutheran churches in America. It resembled the liturgy as found in the Marburg hymnbook and as practiced at the Lutheran court chapel in London. Shortly before the close of the Revolution, St. John's Church (Cabarrus County) adopted a church constitution which specified the following order of worship: (1) a hymn of praise, (2) the Collect or Epistle for the day, (3) the principal hymn, (4) Scripture reading, (5) the Creed or a short Sunday hymn, (6) sermon, (7) singing of a few verses, (8) short catechetical exercise, (9) a long prayer, (10) Benediction, and (11) concluding verse of the principal hymn.[69] The similarity of this order of worship to that of the American Lutheran churches generally is immediately apparent. The principal hymn occupied a special position in the worship, being chosen so as to harmonize with the proper Collect or Epistle as well as the sermon. It represented the theme for the day and provided a unifying factor to the service as a whole, since its verses were sung at two different places during the worship. In the Pennsylvania churches the principal hymn often framed the sermon, but here its two sections were

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[68] Ibid., pp. 243-244.

[69] Bernheim, pp. 252-253.

more widely spaced. Sometimes the "few verses" which immediately followed the sermon might also have come from the principal hymn. This practice of splitting the main hymn partially explains why many texts of the time consisted of fifteen, twenty, or even more stanzas. Although services lasted much longer than they do today, even late eighteenth-century Lutherans rarely sang twenty verses or so straight through. Moreover, various types of alternation, organ interludes, and similar procedures helped to embellish the singing and give it more musical interest.

Apparently Zion Church southeast of Salisbury was the only one of the three North Carolina "mother" churches which owned an organ around 1790. Because of this distinction the congregation became known as Organ or Old Organ Church. Very little is known about this instrument except that John Stirewalt, a member of the congregation, built it sometime around 1790. When the congregation constructed a new stone church in 1794 (officially consecrated on the next Easter), the organ was placed in that portion of the balcony which faced the chancel. The church itself was about fifty feet long, forty feet wide, and twenty feet high; it cost 1100 to 1200 Spanish thalers.[70]

In 1787 the Lutheran and Reformed churches in North Carolina attempted to form one church body under the name "Corpus Evangelicum und Unio Ecclesiastica." This was only one of many usually ill-fated

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[70] Joseph Stewart (ed.), "Extract from a Letter by Pastor Storch in North Carolina, Dated Salisbury, January 20-February 25, 1796," The North Carolina Historical Review, XX (October, 1943), 339. Also cf. Hammer, p. 35. At that time a Spanish thaler equalled seven to eight shillings.

attempts to unite Lutheran and Reformed groups. It is of interest to us because the eighth article of the constitution states that in Lutheran churches the order of worship should follow the Württemberg or Halle liturgies, while the second edition of the Marburg hymnbook was to remain in use throughout the congregations of both confessions.[71] Although we know from the Velthusen reports that other hymnals besides that of Marburg were in use in North Carolina, it appears that the Marburg collection was the most generally popular. (Presumably this refers to the Lutheran Marburg collection.)

The Marburg hymnal remained in use in North Carolina beyond 1800, although some copies of the Erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung, also, undoubtedly found their way into these churches. In 1817 the synod officially recommended Schäffer and Maund's Gemeinschaftliche Gesangbuch for use in German-Speaking congregations, and the same meeting also saw the adoption of the 1814 New York liturgy and Paul Henkel's Church Hymn Book for those congregations using English.[72] The 1814 liturgy, Schäffer and Maund's collection, and the Henkel hymnal all displayed strong influences from other denominations and less liturgical elements within the Lutheran church. Thus, like the Lutheran synods in the other states, the North Carolina synod began to lose hold of its traditional Lutheran background in respect to liturgy and singing as it underwent the process of "Americanization"

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[71] Chr. Otto Kraushaar, Verfassungsformen der Lutherischen Kirche Amerikas (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1911), p. 273.

[72] Kurzer Auszug von den Verrichtungen, der Synode, des Lutherischen Ministeriums, gehalten im Staat Nord Carolina, im Jahr unsers Herrn 1817 (New Market: S. Henkel, 1818), pp. 8-10.

Virginia and the Henkel Press

In 1714 Governor Spotswood brought twelve German Reformed families to Virginia to work his iron mines at Germanna. These families comprised the first official group of German immigrants to enter Virginia. In 1717 he brought in a second colony of twenty Lutheran families, and two years later a third group of forty families, largely Lutheran, settled in the same area. During 1725 some of these Lutheran settlers moved to what is now Madison County, where they organized the Hebron Lutheran Church.[73]

This first church was only a log structure, and the first pastor, John Caspar Stoever, did not arrive until 1733. The very next year Pastor Stoever and two other members of the congregation went to Europe in order to raise funds for a new church building. They succeeded in collecting almost three thousand pounds -- a tidy sum for those days, and they also purchased some unidentified "hymn-books printed in large type for use in public worship."[74] With the proceeds from their European collection the congregation erected a new frame church in 1740. In 1800 this building was enlarged, and a gallery constructed in order to hold a pipe organ, which was built by none other than David Tannenberg.

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[73] William J. Hinke, "The Germans in Madison County, Va.," The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XIV (October, 1906), 136-137.

[74] W. P. Huddle, History of the Hebron Lutheran Church, Madison County, Virginia (New Market: Henkel, 1908), p. 28.

Tannenberg did not go to Virginia to construct this instrument, but built it in Pennsylvania; it was hauled on wagons to the Hebron Church and set up by Philip Broughman in 1802. The organ cost £200. Since it is still in existence, it is possible to obtain a good description of the instrument.[75] The case stands sixteen feet high, eight feet wide, and three feet thick; it is massive and strong and has been painted to match the church interior. The keyboard, which reverses the color of the keys from modern practice, has a compass of four octaves. There is only one manual with eight stops and no pedalboard. The organ contains about two hundred pipes, half metal and the rest wood; wind is supplied by two lever pumps operated by the feet, and connected with the organ by means of a wooden conduit.[76] From this description it is obvious that the Hebron organ was one of Tannenberg's smaller instruments. Although the church did not receive it until 1802, Tannenberg probably built it the previous year.

The heart of Lutheranism in Virginia, however, lay not so much at Hebron Church as in New Market, largely because Ambrose Henkel established a printing press there in 1805. The Virginia Lutheran churches tended to be small, scattered congregations, usually served by circuit pastors and almost invariably poverty stricken. The issues of the Henkel press were

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[75] A picture of the organ appears in Theodore G. Tappert, "Colonial Lutheran Churches," The American-German Review, IX (October, 1942), 22.

[76] Huddle, pp. 50-51.

designed to fill the needs of these small churches, and to overcome the severe lack of books, hymnals, and educational material which existed in these congregations. In a smaller way, the Henkel press served the Virginia churches much as Billmeyer, Steiner, and Zentler served the Lutherans in and around Philadelphia.

A synod report of 1806 comprises one of the first known issues of the Henkel press. Its title reads:

> Verrichtung der Special-Conferenz der Evang. Luth. Prediger und Abgeordneten im Staat Virginien, gehalten in der neuen Röders-Kirche Rockingham County, den 6ten October, 1806 ("Report of the Special Conference of the Evangelical Lutheran Preachers and Delegates in the State of Virginia, Held in the New Röders Church, Rockingham County, the 6th of October, 1806").[77]

This synodical conference was held in conjunction with the dedication of a new union Lutheran-Reformed church. Concerning the dedication services, one reads:

> At the beginning of the proceedings a few verses were sung, whereupon Pastor Henkel delivered the first prayer before the altar, and read the stipulation under which the church was built for congregational worship. Thereafter a few verses were sung, which were printed on sheets for the occasion and were distributed to the gathering.[78]

No copies of these sheets of hymns seem to be extant. In all probability Ambrose Henkel printed them as well as the synod report. The reference to "Pastor Henkel" is to Rev. Paul Henkel, the publisher's father.

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[77] (Neumarket: Ambrosius Henkel, 1806).

[78] Ibid., p. 3.

Although the imprint of the hymns themselves does not exist, the texts are recorded on pages 15 and 16 of the synod report. The first hymn begins, "Heut lobe Gott du christen Chor," and was sung to the melody, "Es ist gewisslich an der Zeit," while the second hymn, "Du treuer Jesu deine Gut," was set to the familiar tune of "Wie schön leuchtet." There is no indication of antiphonal singing or any special musical arrangement in the performance of these texts.

In 1810 the Henkel press published a full-sized hymnbook under the title:

> Das neu eingerichtete Gesang-Buch, bestehend aus einer Sammlung der besten Liedern, zum Gebrauch des öffentlichen deutschen Gottesdienst's, und anderen Uebungen zur Gottseligkeit, in den Vereinigten Staaten, von Nord-America ("The Newly Compiled Hymnbook, Comprising a Collection of the Best Hymns for the Use of Public Worship in German in the United States of North America, and Other Things for the Practice of Piety").[79]

This was the first Lutheran hymnal to be printed in any southern state. In some respects it was issued for the same reasons as Das neue Gesangbuch published in western Pennsylvania by Jacob Schnee, namely many small churches lacked hymnals and could neither afford nor had any real need to acquire such a large collection as the Erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung. Thus, as the foreword states, this publication was intended to serve as a practical, smaller, and cheaper collection for the churches in Virginia and other areas. It contains 246 hymn texts, each with a reference to a given chorale tune as

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[79] (Neumarket: Ambrosius Henkel, 1810).

well as to a metric type. The hymnal restricts itself to the best known melodies, and to twenty-five different metric types, designated as A. M., B. M., C. M., D. M., etc. While at first these abbreviations might seem rather confusing, they actually stand for the terms, "Meter A," "Meter B," "Meter C," etc. Under each metric type Henkel lists all the hymns which conform to a particular meter, thus enabling one easily to choose a different melody if he does not know or does not like the specific melody suggested at the beginning of each text. The hymns are grouped both according to the church year and according to general headings such as "Heaven," "Eternal Life," and "God's Mercy." Since this was not an official synodical hymnal, it does not include a liturgy. A second edition appeared in 1812.

Six years later, in 1816, Paul Henkel edited an English-language counterpart to his German hymnal under the title of Church Hymn Book.[80] The North Carolina synod recommended this collection for use in English worship at their 1817 conference. However, this collection was of much greater influence around the middle of the century than at the time of its first publication, undoubtedly because its success had to wait for a larger number of English-speaking churches. Thus its period of influence primarily lies outside the chronological limits of this study. It received subsequent editions in 1838, 1850, and 1857.[81]

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[80] (New-Market: Solomon Henkel, 1816). Solomon Henkel was a brother of Ambrose.

[81] Smith, pp. 93-95.

Rev. Paul Henkel was much like a Virginia version of Helmuth. He wrote many hymn texts himself, and like Helmuth he kept diaries in which he entered some of his own verses.[82] Unlike, Helmuth, however, he was also a circuit rider whose missionary journeys covered hundreds of miles. Thus he never was in a position to develop his musical and hymn-writing activities as did Helmuth, who had the facilities of the largest Lutheran congregation in the United States at his disposal.

Some of the anonymous hymn texts published by the Henkel press as broadsides undoubtedly were the work of Paul Henkel. One of these may actually be the first issue of the Henkel press. It is entitled:

> Einige Verse, die gesungen wurden bey einer Trauerrede... zum Andenken des seligen Pfr. J. Friedrich Schlägels, den 9ten July, 1805, in Stokes Caunty, Nord-Carolina ("A Few Verses, Which Were Sung at a Funeral Oration to the Memory of the Blessed Pastor J. Friedrich Schlägel, the 9th of July, 1805, in Stokes County, North Carolina").[83]

Two other similar broadsides are found under the following titles: Ein Lied für den Fast- und Bettag auf den 18ten November, 1808 ("A Hymn for the Day of Fasting and Prayer on the 18th of November, 1808")[84] and a text, probably sacred, called simply, Frühjahrs-Lied ("Spring Song").[85]

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[82] Some of Henkel's diaries are in the archives of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania.

[83] Cited by Wust, Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland, XXVIII, 59.

[84] Ibid.

[85] Ibid., p. 60.

Wust's check list of German imprints in Virginia contains a few other broadsides or leaflets which lack publishers or else were printed in Harrisonburg. While they could be by Henkel, the Harrisonburg imprints are most likely the work of Joseph Funk, the Mennonite editor who compiled the tunebook published in 1816 which we discussed above. One of the most interesting of these anonymous broadsides, called simply Joseph's Lied, actually contains a melody and an unfigured bass to a hymn of eight verses. The melody is an innocuous little tune in triple meter. Judging from the fact that the bass line sometimes has consecutive octaves with the melody, the music was probably the work of an amateur.

Another example of the Henkel family's publishing activity in respect to hymnbooks is found in a collection which Ambrose Henkel edited in 1824: Eine Sammlung auserlesener Gebeter u. Lieder, zum Gebrauch der Jugend, sowohl zu Hause als auch in der Schule ("A Collection of Selected Prayers and Hymns, for the Use of Children, Both at Home as well as in School").[86] Since this publication was intended for use in church schools, all the melodies to which it refers were undoubtedly those in common use at the time. The little book refers to eighteen different tunes, some of which are used more than once. These melodies are:

O Jesu Christi wahres Licht -- four times
Mein Gott das Herz ich bringe dir
Nun sich der Tag geendet hat -- six times
Komm, o komm Du Geist des Lebens
Nun danket alle Gott
Du unbegreiflich höchstes Gut -- five times

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86 (Neu-Market: S. Henkel, 1824).

Wer nur den lieben Gott lässt walten -- three times
Allein Gott in der Höh sey Ehre -- two times
Lobe den Herren den
O Gott du frommer Gott
Meinen Jesu lass ich nicht -- two times
Gott des Himmels und der Erden
Auf Seel und deinem
Ringe recht wenn
Es ist gewisslich an der Zeit
Freu dich sehr, o meine Seele
Wir singen dir Immanuel
Jesu deine heilge Wunden

Churches in Maryland

When Stephan Popp, a member of the German regiment from Bayreuth, was in Frederick, Maryland, in 1782, he wrote that the town "is well laid out, houses built of brick, -- two churches, one German Lutheran, the other German Reformed, -- with towers and organs, and bells," besides other churches without towers, organs, or bells.[87] Frederick was the first important center of Lutheranism in Maryland; as Popp rightly observed, even as early as the Revolution the Frederick church boasted towers, bells, and an organ -- traditional signs of church prosperity.

A letter dated October 18, 1779, from Rev. Andrew Krug to H. M. Muhlenberg states that the Frederick congregation had "a beautiful new organ built at a cost of £400."[88] This organ was another of the many

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[87] Joseph G. Rosengarten (ed.), "Popp's Journal, 1777-1783," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, XXVI (April, 1902), 251.

[88] Cited by Abdel R. Wentz, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Frederick, Maryland: 1738-1938 (Harrisburg: Evangelical Press, 1938), p. 143.

fine instruments constructed by Tannenberg. Although its specifications are not known, its price plus the fact that it had around five hundred pipes would make it a moderately large instrument for its day. Until the schoolmaster, Theodore F. Haucks, was able to play the organ, Rev. Krug himself presided at the keyboard during services. The organ remained in use until 1854-1855, when it was sold at the time the church was enlarged.[89]

During the early years of the nineteenth century the Frederick organists received extra pay for teaching the congregation to sing, in addition to their regular organ duties. It isn't clear what sort of instruction was involved, but probably the organists conducted a type of singing school. In 1810 Michael Kolb, who was organist at the time, received six dollars a year for these extra duties. His successor, Michael Fessler, also taught singing while he was organist from 1815-1817.[90]

Musical activities at Frederick ventured a step further than in most congregations, for in 1822 a Mr. John E. Jungman came from Philadelphia to organize the Harmonic Society, which was a combined singing school and church band (orchestra?). Forty members of the congregation subscribed $161 to purchase the necessary instruments. The band itself was not used in public worship; its aim was primarily to cultivate musical interests.[91] However, in view of the fact that the Frederick church was a large

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[89] Ibid., p. 237.

[90] Ibid., p. 184.

[91] Ibid.

congregation that undoubtedly gave attention to its prestige, one suspects that on special occasions some of the instrumentalists also performed in the church. This would certainly have been in accordance with current Lutheran practices.

Outside Frederick the other major Lutheran settlement in Maryland was in Baltimore. Although the Baltimore church grew rather slowly during the period from its founding in 1755 until the Revolution, this situation markedly changed during the closing years of the eighteenth century, when the church shared in the rapid growth of Baltimore generally. The churches in Baltimore and in Frederick both were associated with the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, and both used the 1786 liturgy and hymnal in their worship.

In 1796 Tannenberg built an organ for Zion Church, Baltimore, which remained in use until the church was destroyed by fire on March 30, 1840. The specifications of the instrument are not known, and there even seems to be some discrepancy as to the price. Klaus Wust, who wrote a history of the congregation, claims that it cost $600,[92] while Beck's article on Tannenberg says that the price was £375.[93] Although currency at the time was rather unstable, the value of $600 would be considerably less than £375. Judging from the price of the instrument, therefore, this organ was probably either a little smaller or a little larger (depending upon which price is correct) than the one Tannenberg built for Christ Church in

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[92] Klaus G. Wust, Zion in Baltimore: 1755-1955 (Baltimore: By Zion Church, 1955), p. 36.

[93] Beck, Lancaster County Historical Society, XXX, 8.

York for £355 or $947. Schoolmaster Adam Rabb was the first organist.[94] When Zion built a new church in 1808, the specifications for the construction included a sum of $238.05 for moving the organ into the new house of worship.[95] This price seems to indicate that the moving operations involved considerable effort and possibly reconditioning of the instrument, factors which would be especially true of a moderately large organ.

Helmuth wrote the texts of the music which the congregation and the choir sang at the special services dedicating the new church. Both Helmuth's manuscript draft of the texts as well as the printed program are in the archives of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. In the manuscript copy the opening hymns for the morning and afternoon services are reversed from those in the published pamphlet; otherwise the basic order of worship is the same in both accounts. The title of this twelve-page pamphlet, of which eleven pages contain printing, reads: Bey Einweihung der Deutsch Evangelisch Lutherischen Zion-Kirche in Baltimore auf den 9ten October, 1808 ("On the Dedication of the German Evangelical Lutheran Zion' Church in Baltimore on the 9th of October, 1808").[96] The morning service had the following order:

1. Symphony on the organ.

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[94] Wust, Zion in Baltimore: 1755-1955, p. 36.

[95] Julius Hofmann, A History of Zion Church of the City of Baltimore: 1755-1897 (Baltimore: C. W. Schneidereith & Sons, 1905), p. 38.

[96] (Baltimore: Warner und Hanna, 1808).

2. Singing society: "Dir Ewiger sey dieses Haus geweihet." The text comprises four verses of three rather long lines; the second verse was a duet.

3. Dedication, before the altar.

4. Congregation: "Jesu wir betreten heut"; four verses sung to "Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier."

5. Reading of a psalm, followed by prayer.

6. Principal hymn: "Wir singen heute deinem Ruhm"; three verses set to "Sey Lob und Ehr dem [höchsten Gut]."

7. Congregation, after the sermon: "Lobet Ihn alle den gütigen König der Ehren"; two verses sung to "Lobet den Herren."

8. Benediction.

9. Singing choir: "Anbetend blicket auf zu dir"; one verse of four lines.

Although at the opening of the service the program refers to the "Singe Gesellschaft" while at the close it refers to the "Singe Chor," in all probability these were actually the same group.

As was customary, the afternoon service was shorter and less elaborate. The singing society opened the musical portion of the worship with "Macht hoch die Thür, die Thor macht weit," a hymn of five verses in long meter; the second and fourth verses were a solo, while the entire choir sang the first, third, and fifth stanzas. The next item of music was the principal hymn which was sung just before the sermon and which the program does not identify. A solo, "Erwecke dich Gemeinde heut," whose text comprised six verses in long meter, concluded the service.

During the evening worship the choir presented an anthem beginning, "Jauchzet heute, rühmet Ihn." It had six verses of four lines each; the first, third, fourth, fifth, and last half of the sixth verse were by the choir, while the second stanza and the first half of the sixth verse were a solo. As was true of most of Helmuth's texts intended for choral performance, none of the choir numbers in this pamphlet has reference to music. Probably the texts were set to music in three or four voices adapted from current tunebooks.

Although Lutheran churches in Georgia, North Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland could not match the musical resources of the large congregations in Pennsylvania, they nonetheless placed a strong emphasis upon singing and music both in services of worship and in the schools. Surely the example of the Salzburgers in Georgia, who tried to soften the rigors of frontier life with their songs, clearly shows the importance and high regard which the Lutherans had for music. It is also interesting to observe that although in cases of necessity a precentor would line out the hymns, even the smaller rural congregations aspired to put a hymnbook in the hands of every adult worshiper, or at least in the hands of heads of families. Everyone was expected to use these hymnbooks not only for singing during public worship, but to take them into their homes for practice and use in family devotions. In addition to singing the hymns members of the congregations were expected to use the texts for both private and public study and meditation. Thus the hymnbook was an integral part of the life of every active Lutheran. As a child he learned to read from it; as an adult he used

it both for singing and study. It is little wonder, therefore, that without exception all the early Lutheran settlements from New York to Georgia placed great emphasis upon acquiring hymnbooks. That is why one constantly reads of appeals to the authorities in Europe to send hymnals, not just in sufficient quantity for the pastor, schoolmaster, and the choir, but for everyone in the congregation. That, also, is why the Germans were always eager to establish printing presses to supply the demand for hymnbooks and other devotional material. Indeed, the German press in this country owes its origin to the needs of the Lutheran and Reformed churches for hymnals and other printed material. Likewise, the heavy German population around Philadelphia was at least partially responsible for making that city the first large center of music publishing in America. The attitude of the Lutheran church towards music played an important role in creating a market for music, and thus aided the Philadelphia music publishers to achieve success.

There was only one major flaw in the position of Lutheranism and of Lutheran music in American life -- the language problem. All the most important early Lutheran leaders like Muhlenberg, Kunze, and Helmuth were educated in Germany and were most at home in the German language. Kunze and Muhlenberg tried as much as possible to introduce English into Lutheran worship, but the success of their efforts was naturally limited by their background. Helmuth was not disposed towards developing an English-language Lutheranism, and his position was at least partly responsible for a schism in St. Michael's and Zion Congregation during

the early years of the nineteenth century that resulted in the establishment of a new English Lutheran church (St. John's) in Philadelphia. So long as worship was in German, the pastors, organists, and schoolmasters could rely upon the practices with which they were familiar, but with the introduction of English worship the Lutherans came under the influence of the less liturgical and less musically oriented denominations, especially the Methodists and the Presbyterians. Thus while the German-language hymnals bore a strong resemblance to their European predecessors, the English-language collections lost their Lutheran features, replaced the forceful, irregular meters of the old Lutheran chorales by the neatly balanced formulas of long, common, and short meter, and took on the appearance and sound of "low church" English hymnody. Therefore, during the nineteenth century American Lutheranism lost contact with its former traditions, and in doing so also broke contact with its own unique musical heritage.

Education and the operation of the church schools were also related to the language problem. Instruction in the Lutheran parochial schools was almost always in German, and so long as the congregations themselves were basically German-speaking, the schools were not placed in severe competition with the newly established public schools which began to appear after 1800. However, as the churches gradually turned to English worship, and as the public school systems gained in strength, the advantages of the parochial schools became less apparent to the individual congregations. Consequently, one by one Lutheran churches throughout America began to drop their schools. This naturally had a devastating effect upon church music,

since one of the aims of the parochial school was to teach music and singing, not just for one's pleasure, but especially for use in worship. Time after time this dissertation has emphasized the close relationship that existed between Lutheran music and the Lutheran school, and it was inevitable that a weakening of the schools could only harm the development of church music. This factor, too, played a part in separating American Lutheran church music from its traditional heritage.

Although the liturgical revival that has characterized twentieth-century Lutheranism in America has partially sought to recapture some of the past practices of Lutheran church music in Germany, very little attention has been given to the musical traditions of the early American Lutheran churches. This era was not a period of great liturgical and musical developments, but, as we have seen, neither was it totally devoid of worthwhile achievements. The late eighteenth-century Lutheran leaders in America truly recognized music as the handmaid of theology, and in many respects music had a more integral function in public worship than is the case today. Indeed, from a creative viewpoint, American Lutherans of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries achieved greater activity in music and hymnody in proportion to society as a whole than is true of their twentieth-century brethren.

APPENDIX A

HYMNS OF PRAISE,
SUNG BY THE YOUTH
OF THE
EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN ZION'S
CONGREGATION OF LOONENBURG,
IN THE COUNTY OF ALBANY, STATE
OF NEW-YORK:
ON THE OCCASION WHEN
THEIR CHURCH ORGAN WAS REFITTED,
IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD
M, DCC, XCII

TOGETHER WITH
A SMALL COLLECTION OF HYMNS
OF THE
EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH,
ON VARIOUS SUBJECTS,
AND SUITED
FOR PUBLIC OR FAMILY WORSHIP.

HUDSON:
PRINTED BY ASHBEL STODDARD,
M, DCC, XCII

Order of Exhibition, &c.

Prelude on the Organ.

Solo.

PRAISE thou, my Soul, the most mighty and great King
of Glory,

Duetto.

Whose wondrous Mercies increase ev'ry Moment before thee;

Chorus.

All Hearts and Tongues; raise your melodious Songs
To Him, whose Love will restore ye, :,:
We praise Thee, O God: we acknowledge Thee to be the Lord.
All the Earth doth worship Thee, the Father everlasting.
To Thee all Angels cry aloud: the Heavens and all the
Powers therein.
To Thee Cherubin and Seraphin continually cry:
Holy is our God - - - Holy is our God - - -
Holy is our God, the Lord of Sabaoth.

The Organ.

Chorus.

Praise ye, ye Zionites! Praise ye the Lord!
Praise Him with Anthems, and with a loud Voice.
Let your Notes be of harmonious Accord.
Look unto Jesus and in Him rejoice.
Love your Redeemer, and praise your Mediator,
Jesus, the worthy Reconciliator.

Solo.

Jesus, Lord! come unto me, and remain eternally;
Come, thou blessed Son of God! Take my Heart for Thine
abode

Chorus.

Saviour! we praise Thee with stammering Tongues,
Sorrowful Darkness with us now is past;
When we could not sing melodious Songs,
But were with Sin and Grief quite overcast:
Until thou Victor of Sin mad'st Appearance,
Drawing us gently to be thy Adherents.

Solo.

My Soul longs and groans for Thee: in this World is Misery.
Thousand Times to Thee I cry, Lord! but Thee can satisfy.

Chorus.

Oft hast Thou sought us while we run in Sin,
Minding not Thee, O! true Shepherd of Souls,
When we, lost Wretches, were Hell's nearest Kin,
Thou hast repeated thy powerful Calls;
Thy divine Bowels were mov'd with Compassion,
And we experienc'd anew thy Salvation.

Solo.

Unto none excepting Thee, shall I grant the Liberty
To my heart: For Thou above, art my Int'rest and my Love.

Chorus.

Christ! be victorious over our Hearts;
Sin be subdued, and Hell be thy Spoil.
Heal with Thy balsamic Word all our Smarts;
Let not in vain be our Prayer and Toil.
We are thy People, thy Subjects and Pleasure:
O! might we love Thee 'bove all earthly Treasure.

Solo.

Thou alone, without controul, are the Bridegroom of my
Soul.
Lamb of God! Once slain for me, take me home and set me
free.
Let me be renew'd within, freed from all my inbred Sin;
Pure and perfected in Love; fit to dwell with Thee above.

Chorus.

Honor and Praise to the Lamb shall be brought:
Here and when 'round his great Throne we shall stand.
When by himself in his Myst'ries we're taught,
And led to Fountains of Bliss by his Hand,
When all our Sorrows, Tears and Lamentations,
Be wip'd and chang'd into Joy-acclamations.

The Organ.

Duetto.

1 JESUS, Jesus, nought but Jesus,
Shall my Wish and Zeal be still,
Now my Longing never ceases
To conform to Jesus' Will:
For my Heart with Him quite fill'd,
Cries, O Lord! but what Thou wilt.

2 EVEN to Thee my Love I tender,
To thy Praise I live and move;
All I have to Thee I render,
For Thou gav'st me all in Love,
In the Blood which Thou hast spilt,
I'm secure, do what Thou wilt.

3 SHOULD what's prosp'rous in Appearance,
Yet be contrary to Thee;
Quickly change the false Adherence,
Jesus grant what's good for me.
Be Thou mine, the Kingdom built,
I'll be Thine, do what Thou wilt.

4 UNDO mine and do thy Pleasure,
In and through me, God my all!
Let me love Thee without Measure,
When I mourn, joy, rise or fall:
If Thine Image is rebuilt,
I'm content, do what Thou wilt.

5 SACRED Lord, thy Name be praised,
That Thou gav'st Thyself for me,
And has by thy Spirit raised
New Desires to cry to Thee:
Do with me, my Rock and Shield!
What Thou wilt; yea, what Thou wilt.

The Organ.

The Congregation join and sing according to Wells's Tune.

LORD Christ, reveal thy holy Face,
And send the Spirit of thy Grace,
To fill our Hearts with fervent Zeal,
To learn thy Truth and do thy Will.

The Organ.

Congregation.

2 LORD! lead us in thy holy Ways,
And teach our Lips to tell thy Praise;
Increase our Faith, and raise the same
To taste the Sweetness of thy Name.

The Organ.

Congregation.

3 Till we with Angels join to sing
Th'eternal Praise of Thee our King;
Till we shall see thee Face to Face,
And all the Glories of thy Grace.

The Organ.

Congregation.

4 To God the Father, God the Son,
And God the Spirit, Three in One,
Be Honor, Praise and Glory giv'n
By all on Earth and all in Heav'n.

The Organ.

Chorus.

1 HALLELUJAH, Love, Thanks and Praise
Be to our sov'reign God of Grace,
For all his great Transactions!
His wond'rous Name be e'er adored,
By all Mankind with one Accord,
For his reveal'd Perfections:
O sing! O bring!
Hallelujah to Jehovah, holy is God,
He our God the Lord Sabaoth.

The Organ.

Chorus.

2 Hallelujah, Might, Majesty
Be to the Lamb eternally,
In whom we are elected!
Who bought us with his precious Blood,
Therewith baptiz'd us into God,
His Love unknown detected!
Sacred, blessed
Is the Union and Communion, great's the Pleasure,
We enjoy in Christ our Treasure.

The Organ.

Chorus.

3 Hallelujah, let every Coast
Resound to God the Holy Ghost,
Who has renew'd our Natures!
Endow'd us with a living Faith,
And turn'd our Feet to Jesus' Path,
And made us Lamb-like Creatures!
O yes, here is
Solid Gladness, real Fatness, heavenly Manna,
And the lasting true Hosanna.

The Organ.

Chorus.

4 Hallelujah, Love, Thanks and Praise
Be to our sov'reign God of Grace
And his great Name for ever!
Proclaim, with all th'Angelic Host
The Father, Son and Holy Ghost,
His everlasting Favour!
O sing! O bring!
Hallelujah to Jehovah, holy is God,
He our God the Lord Sabaoth.

The Organ.

Duetto.

1 RAISE your Devotion, mortal Tongues!
To praise the King of Glory,
Sweet be the Accents of your Songs
Of Him, who has redeem'd ye.
Bright Angels strike your loudest Strings:
Let Heav'n and all created Things
Sound our Emanuel's Praises.

The Organ.

Duetto.

2 Thy Praise, O Lord! shall be my Song
As long as Breath I'm drawing:
Thy Name shall be on every Tongue,
Where'er thy Love is growing.
My Heart! with all thy Strength adore
This God of Grace, this God of Pow'r;
And give Him all the Glory.

The Organ.

Duetto.

3 All ye that name the Name of CHRIST,
Give Him, as God, the Glory;
All who confess his Pow'r the high'st
Despite what's transitory;
Renounce the Idols of your own,
The Lord is God, whose Name alone
Deserves all Praise and Glory.

The Organ.

Duetto.

[4] Extend, O Lord! thy sov'reign Grace,
Thy Light to every Nation:
Let Earth and Seas declare and praise
Thy Love, thy Pow'r, thy Passion,
Till we join with thy Saints above
In Hymns to celebrate thy Love,
And dwell with Thee for ever.

The Organ.

Chorus.

1 WONDERFUL Creator! sov'reign Arbitrator!
Look upon us in thy Mercy.
Christ, our blessed Saviour! slight not our Behaviour,
Though we have rebell'd against thee.
Lord our King! make us sing,
With a due Contrition, and profound Submission

The Organ.

Chorus.

2 Heav'n proclaim the Honor of thy mighty Donor,
Far beyond the whole Creation.
Sun let this Day's Duty shew thy Author's Beauty,
In thy Course without Cessation.
Every Star, in the Air
Pay Him due Allegiance in your fix'd Obedience.

The Organ.

Chorus.

3 O my Soul and Spirit! praise the glorious Merit
Of the Lord without dissembling;
All who've Breath and Motion, pay Him your Devotion,
And rejoice with Fear and Trembling.
Great and good is our God,
His unbounded Kingdom, manifests his Wisdom.

The Organ.

Chorus.

4 Raise your Hymns of Praises to the Name of JESUS,
All that taste the heavenly MANNA!
He, that thus rejoices, join with all our Voices,
And repeat devout HOSANNA,
Blest are all, that can call
CHRIST their Joy and Treasure, they'll be filled with
Pleasure.

The Organ.

Solo.

All that's within me still praise the Lord's most glorious
Essence.
All breathing Creatures exalt your Preserver's kind Presence.

Chorus.

He is our Light, praise Him by Day and by Night,
In Jesu finish with Amen. In Jesu finish with Amen.

The Organ.

FINIS

APPENDIX B

SOLEMNIZATION

OF THE

THIRD CENTURIAL JUBILEE,

COMMEMORATIVE OF

THE BLESSED REFORMATION,

COMMENCED BY

Dr. MARTIN LUTHER,

ON THE 31st OCTOBER, 1817.

Order of the Solemnities, in the afternoon, in St. Paul's Church, Oct. 31st, 1817.

The Hymns are translated from the German, as used in the forenoon.

NEW-YORK:
PUBLISHED BY KIRK & MERCEIN
PRINTED BY T. & W. MERCEIN
23 Gold-Street

1817

CHOIR.

JUBILATE.

O be joyful in the Lord, all ye lands: serve the Lord with gladness, and come before his presence with a song.

Be ye sure that the Lord he is God: it is he that hath made us, and not we ourselves; we are his people, and the sheep of his pasture.

CHORUS.

O go your way into his gates with thanksgiving, and into his courts with praise; be thankful unto him, and speak good of his name.

For the Lord is gracious; his mercy is everlasting; and his truth endureth from generation to generation.

CHORUS.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost: As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be: world without end. Amen.

CONGREGATION.

Lord! who to us this day hast brought,
With gospel blessings richly fraught,
To thee be praise with one acclaim,
By all who own the Saviour's name.

MINISTER.

Great is our Lord, and of great power: his understanding is infinite. -- There is none like unto thee, O Lord, Thou art great, and thy name is great in might. Who would not fear thee, O King of nations? for to thee doth it appertain. Thou O Lord, art our Father, our Redeemer; thy name is from everlasting.

CHOIR.

The Lord is nigh, and ne'er forsakes
His flock of ev'ry nation;

CHOIR AND CONGREGATION.

He is their confidence, and makes
  Their blessing, peace, salvation;
For those who trust his truth, provides,
And with a father's hand he guides,
  Give to our God the Glory!

MINISTER.

God is a Spirit: and they that worship him, must worship him in spirit and in truth. -- He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God? -- Present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service. --

This is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent. -- The foundation of God standeth sure, having this Seal: The Lord knoweth them that are his. And, Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity.

CHOIR.

All who the name of Christ express,
  Give to our God the Glory!

CHOIR AND CONGREGATION.

Ye who the Saviour's death confess,
  Give him, give him the Glory!
To nought Sin's lying idols lead,
The Lord, our God, is God indeed,
  Give to our God the Glory!

MINISTER.

It is a good thing to give thanks unto the Lord, and to sing praises unto thy name, O most High. What shall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits towards me? -- Give thanks unto the Lord; for he is good: for his mercy endureth forever. Give thanks always for all things unto God and the Father, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. Bless the Lord, O my soul; and all that is within me, bless his holy

name. Bless the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all his benefits. -- While I live will I praise the Lord: I will sing praises unto my God while I have any being.

CHOIR AND CONGREGATION.

Here while I live, my feeble praise,
  Shall, Lord, to thee be given.
Hereafter shall my bolder lays
  Sound through the Courts of Heaven;
Awake my soul! lift up my voice!
My heart with all thy pow'rs rejoice.
  GIVE TO OUR GOD THE GLORY!

CHOIR.

1.

BEFORE Jehovah's awful throne,
  Ye nations bow with sacred joy:
  Know that the Lord is God alone;
He can create, and he destroy.

2.

His sov'reign pow'r without our aid
  Made us of clay, and form'd us men;
And when like wand'ring sheep we stray'd,
  He brought us to his fold again.

3.

We are his people, we his care,
  Our souls, and all our mortal frame;
What lasting honours shall we rear,
  Almighty Maker, to thy name?

4.

We'll crowd thy gates with thankful songs,
  High as the heav'n, our voices raise;
And earth with her ten thousand tongues,
  Shall fill thy courts with sounding praise.

5.

Wide as the world is thy command,
Vast as eternity thy love;
Firm as a rock thy truth must stand,
When rolling years shall cease to move.

MINISTER.

LET US PRAY.

(All kneeling.)

Thee, the Eternal and Exalted -- Thee, the only true God we adore! -- Unto thee, the Almighty, All-wise and All-gracious God and Father, we give thanks, that thou hadst tender pity upon thy church; that through chosen instruments thou didst restore, and hast hitherto preserved the Truths of thy Gospel. We beseech thee, guide us by thy Spirit, that the present solemn occasion may be sanctified unto us -- that we may continually confide in thy truth, willingly follow after the light of thy gospel -- prove the fruits of our faith with an holy conversation, and, finally, depart hence in peace, through Jesus Christ, thy Son, our Lord and Saviour.

O Holy God, the Creator!
O Holy God, the Mediator!
O Holy God, the Merciful Comforter!
Thou Eternal and Exalted God!
Evermore grant us thy peace. Amen.

CHOIR.

RECITATIVE.

For behold darkness shall cover the earth, and gross darkness the people. But the Lord shall arise upon thee, and his glory shall be seen upon thee: And the Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising.

CHORUS.

(Congregation Standing.)

And the glory of the Lord shall be revealed. And all flesh shall see it together; for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.

MINISTER.

Reads the 40th Psalm -- and Rev. 14. 6-13.

CHOIR AND CONGREGATION.

1.

As breaks through veiling clouds the sun,
So Lord, to us Truth's light beams down,
And Error's mazy mists are fled.
Christians! rejoice in this blest light,
Look up to Christ, and watch when night
With darkness threats your path to spread.

2.

Both Light and Truth his words display,
Plain is the road, nor can those stray
Who with so narrow'd views proceed;
The Lord himself has gone before,
His path then let us follow o'er,
To life eternal it will lead!

[3.]

Thus did that Man's wide call once sound,
Whom he who made the light beams crown'd
With strength and courage from on high!
And happy we! our fathers' sight
Beheld the Lustre of that light:
The Lord hath done it, was their cry.

4.

Like them exulting, let us pay
To sacred joy this signal day,
And raise our hearts on rapture's tides;
The Lord hath done it let us sing,
Look upon Christ our leading King; --
Pursue his steps; to life he guides!

PRAYER.

(in the Pulpit.)

SERMON.

CHOIR.

(During the Collection, towards defraying the expenses of the Celebration.)

ANTHEM.

Blessed be thou Lord God of Israel, our Father, for ever and ever.

Thine O Lord is the greatness, and the power, and the glory, and the victory, and the majesty; for all that is in Heaven, and in the Earth are thine. Thine is the Kingdom, O Lord, and thou art exalted as Head over all.

Both riches and honour come of thee, and thou reignest over all, and in thine hand is power, and might, and in thine hand it is to make great, and to give strength unto all.

CHORUS.

Now therefore, our God, we thank thee, and praise thy glorious Name.

MINISTER.

The Lord be with you.

CONGREGATION.

And with thy spirit.

MINISTER.

We lift up our hearts.

CONGREGATION.

We lift them up to the Lord.

MINISTER.

We give thanks unto the Lord, our God.

CONGREGATION.

It is just and reasonable.

MINISTER.

Verily, it is just and reasonable, profitable and healthful also, always to praise the Lord, the Almighty God, and to thank him through Jesus Christ his Son.

The Lord hath done great things for us, Hallelujah.

CONGREGATION.

The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad, Hallelujah.

MINISTER.

(Kneeling.)

Yea, great things hast thou done, O gracious God and Father, for thy people! Thou hast made thy wonderful works to be remembered; they shall never be forgotten. By thy Omnipotence thou didst deliver our ancestors from the power of darkness; thou didst bless them with the knowledge of truth, and didst translate them into the kingdom of the dear Son: in whom we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins. Unto this day hast thou preserved these benefits to thy Church, and therewith hast thou also favoured us, whereof we are glad and rejoice before thee. Oh Lord, preserve unto us thy word, for it is unto us the joy and rejoicing of our hearts. Preserve this rich treasure unto us, and to all who may succeed us. When centuries after centuries have descended into the depths of time, may thy people ever be enabled to rejoice, and to declare in truth on days similar to the one which now exhilarates our hearts: Thy word, O Lord, thy saving gospel is pure and undefiled amongst us until this day. We beseech thee, Father, let the light of thy Gospel illuminate the world more and more, and shed its rays over all the nations of the earth. Do thou assist thy messengers and servants, who proclaim thy name, and preach thy holy religion, that they, and those who hear them, may glorify thee, and be saved through faith in Jesus Christ, and him crucified. Grant us thy grace, that we may faithfully cleave unto thy gospel, walk worthy of the same, and at last die in its comforts cheerfully and happy, through Jesus Christ thy Son, our Lord, -- then will we in a better world join with all the company of Heaven, in the song of praise and of thy divine glories:

(The whole Congregation rises and sings.)

Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts, Heaven and Earth are full of thy glory. Glory be to thee, O Lord Most High. Amen.

CONGREGATION.

(Dr. Martin Luther's Hymn.)

1.

Preserve us steadfast in thy word,
And check, O God, the wrong and guile
Of Foes who Christ, thy Son, our Lord,
Would of his Heavenly Throne despoil.

2.

Jesus, thou Lord of Lords, make known
The greatness of thy mighty power;
Defend the Church thou call'st thine own,
That She may praise thee evermore.

3.

God precious Comforter supply
One mind to thine while here they stay;
In our last exigence be nigh,
And lead from death to life's bright day.

CHOIR.

DUETTO.

How beautiful are the feet of him that bringeth glad tidings of Salvation, that saith unto Sion "Thy God reigneth."

CHORUS.

Break forth into joy; glad tidings. 'How beautiful are the feet of him that bringeth glad tidings of Salvation, that saith unto Sion "Thy God reigneth."

SOLO.

Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty; who was, and is, and is to come.

CHORUS.

Worthy is the Lamb that was slain, and hath redeemed us to God by his Blood, To receive Power, and Riches, and Wisdom, and Strength, and Honour, and Glory, Blessing -- Blessing and Honour, Glory and power be unto him that sitteth upon the Throne; and unto the Lamb for ever and ever.

GRAND HALLELUJAH CHORUS

(The whole Congregation standing.)

Hallelujah, for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth; Hallelujah, the Kingdom of this World is become the Kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, and he shall reign for ever and ever, Hallelujah.

MINISTER.

Benediction.

The Lord bless thee and keep thee.
The Lord make his face to shine on thee, and be gracious unto thee.
The Lord lift up his countenance on thee, and give thee peace. Amen.

APPENDIX C

From the Preface to Kunze's Einige Gedichte und Lieder.

Ich glaube, dass geistliche Gedichte mit unter die recht vorzüglichen Mittel gerechnet werden dürfen, durch welche der Glaube und das Christentum befördert werden könnten. Die Dichtkunst hat, meiner Empfindung nach, noch mehr als die Musik, etwas dahinreisendes und begeisterndes. Fürt sie nun, wie sie wol am östersten tun solte, ganz unmittelbar auf den allerwürdigsten Gegenstand, der besungen werden kan; so hat sie ohne Zweifel bei dem Gemüt, das Gott kennt, einen doppelten Reiz, und bei dem noch entfernten Feinde Gottes doch etwas anziehendes und lokendes.

.....

Kramer sagt mit Recht: "Die Poesie und die Musik waren in den Zeiten ihres ersten Ursprungs unzertrennliche Gefärden. Die verschiedene Arten der Sylbenmaase scheinen Töchter der Musik zu sein, die die Poesie erzogen hat." Ich glaube also auch, dass das Volk Gottes die Musik zu keinem andern, als zum gottesdienstlichen Gebrauch bestimmte. Irrten sie in der rechten Wal des Gottesdienstes; so irrten sie auch in der Anwendung der Musik: aber immer nur nach Maasgebung jenes Irtums. Mit der Musik waren die Reigen oder Processionen verbunden, da Mannspersonen, Weiber, Jünglinge und Jungfrauen [Here a fn. cites Zach. 12: 11-14; Jud. 21:19; 2 Sam. 6:14] besonders in geschlossenen Reihen nach dem Takt der Musik und Gesange einhergingen, und so vor dem Jehovah ihre Freudenbezeugungen oder Trauer zu erkennen gaben. Weil sie nach gewissen in der Musik gegebenen Zeichen, die bei Freudengelegenheiten vielleicht oft vorkamen, unter andern Wendungen auch in die Höhe sprangen; so haben diese Processionen den Namen von dem hebräischen Rakad, welches D. Luther, wie ich glaube, gewis lieber durch "in die höhe springen" als "tanzen" übersezt haben würde, wofern er den Misbrauch vorher gesehen hätte, nach welchem unverständige aus diesem Ausdruk so gar das tolle Welttanzen zu rechtfertigen übernemen. Die heidnischen Tänze waren, wie ihre andern gottesdienstlichen Gebräuche, nur eine Nachamung davon, und nach und nach ausgeartet. Die Art, wie die Tochter Herodias tanzte, war vermutlich nicht indisch, sondern griechisch, und es ist daraus wol offenbar, dass die Heiden zulezt mit ihrem Tanzen nicht mehr viel Religion vermischten. Bei der Welt die Gott verlies, ward es gar bald zum Gebrauch, diese ehemalige Religionsübung ganz von Religion abzusondern, und zur blosen Ueppigkeit und Vergnügen zu gebrauchen. Jubal war nach Moses Bericht ein Vater der Musikanten. Ich glaube eben nicht, dass dieser Ausdruk dem Jubal die Erfindung der Musik zuschreibt, so wenig als dem Jabal seinem Bruder zugeschrieben wird, dass er zu erst Vieh gezogen. Unter den Menschenkindern zur Zeit Noah waren besonders zwei Häuser bekannt, die sich durch ihre Gottlosigkeit auszeichneten. Das eine bestand aus Stadtschwärmern, und das andere aus Landschwärmern. Vielleicht hielt

sich Jubal zu Hanoch oder sonst in einer Stadt auf, und lies es zu, dass, da in dem Reiche, wo er wonete, kein Gottesdienstlicher Gebrauch üblich war, doch seine Kinder aus dem andern Reiche, wo man feierliche Gottesdienste Hielt, den Gebrauch der Musik, und vielleicht auch der Processionen einfürten, aber blos entweder Spotterei, oder Uebermut und Lustbarkeiten damit zu verbinden. Vielleicht waren eben beide Reiche damals unter einem Haupte vereinigt, und da, es uberdis der Zeitpunkt war, da die Menschen, die den Gottesdienst noch bisher unter sich erhalten, der schon zur Zeit der Geburt Enos, und also sehr bald seine rechte und ins gemeinschaftliche gehende Einrichtung bekommen hatte, gar keinen Ernst mehr dazu bezeugten; so konnte das dadurch entstehende Aergernis so gros werden, dass Jubal deswegen kurz vor Erzelung der Sündflut auch wol von der Seite besonders bemerkt zu werden verdienen können, dass er der Vater der Geiger und Pfeifer gewesen. Hat die erste Welt schon Krieg unter sich gefürt; so hat vielleicht Thubalkain besondern Anteil durch Erfindung tödtender Werkzeuge daran gehabt, und wer weis, wodurch die Viehhirten berüchtigt wurden, die Jabals Kinder waren, oder auch, was eine Raemi berümt machte. Dis mag immer unausgemacht bleiben; so glaube ich doch, das man aus den musikalischen Versammlungen in dem Hause des Jubals, von dem alle solche Lustfeste hernach benennt zu sein scheinen, nicht schliesen dürfe, dass die göttliche Bestimmung der Musik ie andere, als gottesdienstliche Gegenstände angewiesen, oder der Ursprung der Musik in etwas anders, als in gottesdienstlichen Uebungen zu suchen sei. Der Gedanke dabei war ohne Zweifel: Menschliche Zungen sind zu schwach, die Empfindungen der Lobesbegierde auszudrüken, die in andächtigen Selen wont. Sie erhöhten den Klang ihrer Stimmen, und gaben dabei ihre Regungen durch solche Leibesbewegung, und ihre Einigkeit im Lobe Gottes durch solchen Anschlus an einander zu erkennen, als sonst unter Menschen in andern Dingen üblig ist.

In dem Gedanken, dass Poesie und Musik in den Zeiten ihres ersten Ursprungs, ich seze dazu, vor der Epoche ihres Misbrauchs, unzertrennliche Gefärden waren, liegt nicht nur, dass die Gedichte damals ordentlicher Weise zur Musik bestimmt wurden, sondern auch dass man keine Musik hörte, ohne Texte dabey abzusingen. Die Musik ist und bleibt etwas göttliches: aber wie sehr sinkt mir ihr Wert, wenn ich nichts dabei denken kan. Orpheus mochte ganze Wälder durch die blose Leier bewegen: ich bin so empfindsam nicht. Lies aber das einfältigere Altertum natürlich verbundene Dinge gern ungetrennt; so sehe ich ein, was es eigentlich war, das den Saul aus seiner Melancholie zurükrief, und dem Elisa die Fähigkeit zu göttlichen Eingebungen einhauchte. Ohne Zweifel sang David bei seinem Spielen die geistlichen Leibarien des Sauls, oder er spielte wenigstens solche Stüke, deren Texte Saul auswendig konnte. Wollen wir nicht durch Anname steter Wunder ungereimt, oder dadurch, dass wir mehr in der Wirkung suchen, als in der Ursach liegt, gar zu unlogikalisch werden; so, denke ich, müssen wir die Gründe von Sauls stets erfolgter Besserung in der Erbauung und

geistlicher Entzükung suchen. Wer das menschliche Herz kennt, wird die Betrachtung des damals schon sehr verworrenen und von Gott abgewandten Gemütszustandes Sauls vor keinen Einwurf dawider ansehen. Der wieder gottlos werdende Gerechte kert stufenweis, nicht auf einmal, um. Durch die Gnadenbemühungen Gottes, das Seine zu erhalten, bleiben die süssesten Empfindungen der Erbauung oft noch zu der Zeit, wenn man ausser der Stunde der Erbauung recht deutlich zeigt, dass man im Rükgange ist. Ja selbst der wieder völlig erstorbene kan sich gegen gewisse Eindrüke, die ihm bei und in seiner Bekerung besonders heftig in die Sele gedrungen, in seinem ganzen Leben nicht vollig verhärten. Er unterhält, wenn die Ausübung der Gottseligkeit nach und nach auch eine vollkommene Feindin wird, doch noch immer einen liebkosenden Umgang mit den Dingen, die ihm die ersten Reizungen dazu waren. In dem Beispiel des Elisa ist die Sache noch sichtbarer. [A footnote cites 2 Reg. 3:15.] Die Könige von Israel, Juda und Edom zogen wider Moab and gerieten unter Weges in Wassermangel. Israels König klagte; aber der fromme sahe sich nach dem Troste des Wortes Gottes um. Man fand den Elisa, dessen Rechtschaffenheit Josaphat kannte. Elisa versicherte, dass er nur um Josaphats Willen dem Begeren willfaren und den Herrn fragen wolle. Er begerte aber einen Spielman, und unter dessen Musiciren wurde er in den Stand gesezt, die göttliche Stimme zu hören. Magisch gings dabei nicht zu, und kindisch oder gaukelnd waren die göttlichen Offenbarungen, die den Propheten wiederfuren, nicht. Was wirkte nun aber das Säitenspiel? Ich denke: Elisa sezte seine Sele erst in heilige Empfindungen. Ein Mensch, dessen erlangte Reise in der Gottseligkeit ihn über das wetterwendische hinaus sezt, wird es mehrenteils in seiner Gewalt haben können, sich in solche Empfindungen zu schwingen, wenn er Zeit dazu aussezen und Mittel anwenden will. Ich verbinde damit gar keine pelagianische Begriffe. Ich verstehe nur darunter etwas jenem Paulinischen Ausdruk ähnliches: [A footnote cites I Cor., 14:32.] Die Geister der Propheten sind den Propheten unterthan. Gott mus unsere Erbauung wirken; aber er ist mehr dazu bereit, als wir ihm Gelegenheit machen. Die Propheten wurden zwar hoher Dinge gewürdigt; aber um sich solcher hohen Offenbarungen nicht zu überheben, bekamen sie teils manchen Pfal ins Fleisch, teils muste ihr Umgang mit Gott dem allgemeinen Betragen armer Sünder gegen die belcidigte unendliche Maiestät änlich sehen. Warer moralischer Glaubensgehorsam, Ringen, Händlewinden und Weinen war oft dabei, wenn Gott sie als seine vertrauten erklärte, und sie der herablassendesten Offenbarungen würdigte. Elisa wollte hier den Herrn fragen: dieses konnte er nicht, ohne in die heiseste Andacht gesezt zu sein, um recht ringend und anhaltend beten zu können. Wir fangen unsre öffentliche Gottesdienste mit Singen an, weil wir wissen, das dis die Andacht am leichtesten entzündet, ob wol hernach Beten und Leren ein gründlicheres und dauerhafteres Feuer gibt. Es ist gewis, dass singen und musiciren die beste Grundlage zu der hernach drauf gebauten Andacht wird: denn Gott ist der Urheber von dieser Einrichtung. [A footnote cites 2 Chron. 29:25.]

Im neuen Testamente empfielt der Geist Christi diese Uebung zur Andacht ebenfals, [A footnote cites Eph. 5:19. Col. 3:16.] allwo nur dabei erinnert Wird, dass das Herz dabei sein, und man beim singen und spielen etwas denken müsse. Ich kann also unter dem Geschäfte des Spielmanns nichts anders denken, als dass er einige geistliche Lieder spielte und sang, von da die erregte Inbrunst des Elisa sich ins Gebet begab. Es hätte vom Geschichtschreiber deutlicher bezeichne werden müssen, was der Spielmann tun solte, wenn die Verbindung zwischen Musik und heiligen Gedichten eben so sehr, als heutiges Tages, profanischen Trennungen unterworfen gewesen wäre. Aber so verstand man, dass "auf Säitenspiel spielen, so viel hiese, als" ein geistlich Lied musiciren.

Es ist war, dass die bemerkte Verbindung der Dicht- und Tonkunst auch zugleich etwas mit in sich fasst, wovon wir mit Recht abweichen können. Die Alten machten schwerlich Gedichte, ohne solche, die ware Schirim, carmina, oder Lieder sein und also gesungen and musicirt werden solten. Indes da schon das eigentliche wesentliche der Dichtkunst, die Begeisterung, abwechselnde Ordnung und Wolklang eine solche Verbindung verschiedener Dinge ist, die etwas denken and zugleich fülen lässt; so kann man eher Gedichte ohne Musik, als Musik ohne Gedichte dulten. Was ich aber am eigentlichsten mit allem diesen sagen wollte, geht mehr auf die Verbindung dieser beiden mit geistlichen materien, als auf ihre Verbindung mit einander. Diese suchen denkende und verständige Gemüter ohne dem gern, und jene, denke ich, sollte unter Christen die einzige gewönliche sein.

.....

Die Engelländer haben bei weiten den Liederreichtum nicht, den wir haben. Sie fangen jezt erst an, Lieder zu dichten. Indes die sie haben und brauchen, enthalten ware Poesie. Ich besize fünf Englische Gesangbücher, und finde fast nirgends ein Lied, darinnen, wie es bei vielen neuen jezt allgemein beliebten ist, nichts als Silbenmas und Reim das poetische ausmachte, oder wo es gar wol diesen noch an Genauigkeit felte. Ich wünsche sehr, dass jemand einige solche Lieder zu deutschen Liedern machte, zum Beispiel des Herrn D. Watts Gesangbuch, oder die Lieder in einer Collection of Psalms and Hymns from various Authors. London. 1774. Hier findet man kein Lied, dass nicht jedermann leicht verständlich wäre und doch auch in jeder Zeile sich als ein poetisches Stuk auszeichnete. Solte mir Gott das Leben fristen, und mich in Umstände versezen, die mit mehr Erholungszeit verknüpft, wären, als meine jezigen; so würde ich selbst noch einige Zeit und Mühe daran wenden.

.....

Der gemeine Mann mus verstehen was er singt, dieser aber hat geringe Fähigkeit, ist wie ich glaube, wol noch etwas zu mistrauisch. Eben dadurch werden unsre Mitbrüder von ganz gemeiner Erziehung nach und nach auch etwas verstehen lernen, wenn man ihnen dergleichen öfter in die Hände gäbe. Ich glaube an den Bauren schon oft bemerkt zu haben, ob sie einen Prediger besizen, der mit einem guten Herzen auch einen guten Verstand und seinen Geschmak verbindet, oder nicht.

.....

Die Dichtkunst hat mit der Musik den grosten Reiz in der Welt. Musik gehört heutiges Tages nicht in die Sphäre der Gelerten oder der Lerer...

APPENDIX D

Account of the Organ Dedication from the Neue Philadelphische Correspondenz For October 12, 1790

Philadelphia, den 12 October.

Vorgestern und gestern, als den 10ten und 11ten dieses, haben wir hier eine Feyerlichkeit gehabt, die, in dem Umfange, und in der Art, wie sie begangen wurde, in dem ganzen America wahrscheinlich nie ihres Gleichen hatte.

Ich halt dafür, dass die hiesige Zions-Kirche der Deutschen Evangelisch Lutherischen Gemeinde, das schönste Gebäude in ganz Philadelphia sey, und wenn ich ja hierin irrete, so wird wenigstens jeder, der sie gesehen hat, es gestehen, dass sie eines der prächtigsten Gebäude in dem ganzen America ist, und dass ihr keines, welches dem Gottesdienste gewidmet wäre, an Grösse, Regelmässigkeit und Erleuchtung gleich komme. In dieser herrlichen Kirche nun, ist jetzt eine ganz neue Orgel aufgestellet worden, eine Orgel die alles übertrift, was man in Philadelphia von Orgeln je gesehen hat, und die, wie diejenigen, die America durchreiset sind, bekennen, die prächtigste und grösseste in diesem Welttheile ist. Das Gehäuse derselben mit gerechnet, so ist sie 24 Fuss in der Fronte, 8 Fuss tief, und 27 Fuss hoch. Oben, über ihr, stehet man die Sonne, aus einem Gewölke heraufsteigen, und dasselbe mit ihren goldenen Strahlen zertheilen. Rechts und links, der Sonne zur Seiten, erblickt man zwey Adler, als flögen sie der Sonne entgegen, und ihre Umschrift ist: "Die auf den HErrn harren, fahren auf wie die Adler!" Neben ihnen siehet man zwey Engel, den einen mit dem Evangelium, den andern mit dem versiegelten Buche, beyde aber mit Trompeten in den Händen, und als wolten sie auffliegen gegen Himmel. Eine Abbildung von dem, was Jes. 40, 31; Offenb. 14, v. 6.7. und Cap. 5, u. s. w. aufgezeichnet ist. Stehet man vor der Orgel, so kan man noch mehr als 100 zinnerne Pfeifen zählen, deren einige 16 Fuss hoch sind. In dem inneren des Werks sind beynah 2000 Pfeifen. Viele der volkreichsten Städte in Europa haben ein solches Orgelwerk noch nicht, und was aus Americanern besonders lieb seyn muss, so ist dies schöne und grosse Werk die Arbeit des Herrn David Tanneberg, aus Lititz, in Lancaster Caunty, der aus eigenem Triebe das Orgelbauen hier in America erst angefangen, aber durch Lesen, Nachdenken und unermüdeten Fleiss sich so sehr empor gehoben hat, dass, wenn auch der geschickteste Orgelbauer aus Eruopa hieher kommen, und dies sein Werk prüfen solte, er, nach dem Urtheile der Kenner, ihm nur Lob ertheilen, und ihn lieb-gewinnen müste.

Diese so schöne und grosse Orgel nun wurder Sonntags den 10ten dieses, Vormittags um 10 Uhr, zum allerersten male gespielet, und durch eine feyerliche Rede des Herrn D. C. H. Hellmuth, ältesten Predigers der

Ev. Lutherischen Gemeinde hierselbst, eingeweihet. Sein Text war aus 4. Mos. 10, 10. genommen, worüber er, von der Gott wohlgefälligen Instrumental-Musick redete. Seine ganze Seele war in einer heilig freudigen Bewegung, die sich, wie bey ihm gewöhnlich ist, allen Anwesenden mittheilte, und sie zum Lobe des Allerhöchsten mit sich dahin riss.

Gedachter Herr D. Hellmuth hatte auch, um die Feyet dieses Tages noch herrlicher zu machen, einige, auf diese Gelegenheit passende, sehr erbauliche Lieder aufgesetzt und drucken lassen, die hierbey abgesungen, und deren Gesang mit dem Orgelspiele begleitet werden solte. Ausserdem aber hatte er auch den Text zu einer herrlichen Kirchen-Musick abgefasst, um sie von der Singegesellschaft, die er hier errichtet hat, unter Zustimmung der Orgel aufführen zu lassen. Alles dieses wurde auf das beste aufgeführet, und aller Herzen wurden von den Gefühlen der warmsten Andacht durchdringen. Es war ihnen, als wären sie in die höhern Gegenden der seligen Geister versetzt, wo das Lob der Gottheit in der schönsten Harmonie erschallet, und als sähen sie bereits mit ihren Augen, und hörten sie schon mit ihren Ohren, alle die grossen Auftritte des schreckliches Tages des Weltgerichtes, mit unter aber auch die liebliche Stimme des Menschen-Sohnes.

So regnigt und unfreundlich auch das Wetter war; so war dennoch die, so überaus grosse Kirche, die 108 Fuss lang und 80 Fuss breit ist, angefüllet, und es würde ohnsehlbar ein zu grosses Gedränge, Unordnung und auch wohl Streit gegeben haben, hätte nicht die Corporation die Auge Veranstaltung getroffen, und es angezeiget, dass nicht nur Nachmittags um halb nach 2 Uhr abermalen Kirchen-Musick seyn würde, sondern dass auch am Abend, um 6 Uhr, die ganze Kirchen-Musick dieses Tages wiederholet werden solte. Dies veranlasste eine glückliche Theilung des Volks, ohne die geringste Unzufriedenheit zu erregen, und so konte die anständigste Ordnung und Stille erhalten werden.

Den Nachmittag predigte der sehr beliebte Herr Pfarrer F. Schmidt, über Ps. 103, v. 3. und auch er wuste die wärmsten Empfindungen des Lobes und Preises des Allerhöchsten in die Seelen der Anwesenden zu ergiessen.

Um indessen den hiesigen Mitbürgern von andern Confessionen und von der Englischen Nation, ihre Liebe und Achtung zu beweisen, und auch sie an dieser Feyerlichkeit Antheil nehmen zu lassen; so wurden, (da dies des Sonntags am 10ten, des besorglichen zu grossen Gedränges wegen, ganz unmöglich war) auf Veranstaltung der ehrsamen Corporation Einladungs-Zettel abgedruckt, und an die Mitbürger der Englischen Nation und anderer Confessionen in dieser Stadt umher gesandt, mit dem Ersuchen: Montags, den 11ten dieses, Vormittags um 10 Uhr, der Aufführung der gestrigen Music brüderlichst beyzuwohnen.

In einer unglaublichen Anzahl kamen derowegen der freundlichen Einladung zufolge, die Glieder von andern Confessionen in diesem gottesdienstlichen Hause zusammen. Aus ihren Gesichtern konte man die mächtigen Empfindungen lesen, welche die Kraft einer so erhabenen und erschütternden Musik ihnen allen eingeflösset hatte, und es verliess wohl

keiner dieses Haus der Andacht, der nicht auch in Andacht unsern GOtt verehret, und ihn im Geist und in der Wahrheit angebetet hatte.

Wer es bedenkt, dass vor nur noch 50 Jahren die Deutschen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Glieder sich blos in Scheuren versammlen mussten, und noch im Jahr 1744 nicht im Stande waren, aus eigenen Mitteln eine Kirche zu bauen, nun aber allbereits zwey Kirchen hierselbst erbauet, auch eine so prächtige Orgel allbereits angeschaffet haben, der muss es ja gestehen, dass diese Leute, wenigstens im Irrdischen, den Wahlspruch führen können: -- "Der HErr mit uns!" "Der HErr mit uns!"

N. S. Wir sind bevollmächtiget es anzuzeigen, dass auf vieler Verlangen, künftigen Sonntag, den 17ten dieses, die ganze Music in der Zions-Kirche werde wiederholet werden.

APPENDIX E

Auf den Tag der Unabhängigkeit
der Dreyzehn Staaten von Nord-America,
den 4ten Julii, 1785.

Abgesungen von der Singeschule der Evangelischen Lutherischen
Deutschen Gemeine in Philadelphia, unter Anführung
Herrn David Otts, Schullehrer.

[The original is printed in two columns on one side of a broadside.]

CHORUS.

Es stürmen tausend Sorgen
Gewaltig auf mein Herz,
Vom Abend bis zu Morgen
Nagt mich der tiefste Schmerz:
Mich trift ein banges Zagen,
Umhüllt mit Dunkelheit,
Muss ich hier traurig fragen:
Herr! wann verschwindt mein Leid.

DUETTO.

Heut jauchzt der Freyheitssöhne Chor
In sanften Tönen ihrem König,
Er hob uns aus dem Staub empor,
Dann unsre Kraft war viel zu wenig,
Er stand mit uns auf unserm Plan,
Und brach der Freyheit selbst die Bahn.

CHORUS.

Du hast es ja versprochen,
Ihr solt mich wieder sehn.
Dein Wort bleibt ungebrochen;
Ich glaub, es wird geschehn,
Es strahlt ein Blick von Ferne
In meine Dunkelheit,
Ein Schein vom Morgensterne
Der der verscheucht mein Leid.

DUETTO.

Er brach der Fesseln Macht entzwey,
Vom blassem Neide zubereitet,
Er sprachs, und sieh! wir waren frey.
Er hat uns bis hieher geleitet.
Sie, Gottes starke Gnadenhand
Verbreite Segen übers Land.

CHORUS.

Ihr heitern süssen Stunden,
Da JESUS meine Lust,
Ihr seyd von mir verschwunden,
Angst tobt in meiner Brust,
O' kehrtest du bald wieder,
Du freundlich Vaterherz,
Dann schallten meine Lieder,
Dann wich der Todesschmerz.

SOLO.

O Gott! zerbrich auch jene Macht,
Die Macht, die unsre Seelen bindet,
Vertreibe du der Sünden Nacht:
Wohl dem, der in dir Freyheit findet,
Sey du in Christo unser Ruhm,
Du wähltest uns zum Eigenthum.

ARIA.

Vergebung, Herr! ich nur begehr,
Vergebung durch dein Blut von meinen Sünden;
Die Schuld ist gross, Herr! nicht verstoss
Den Sünder, lass ihn freye Gnade finden.
Ich lass nicht nach, das laute Ach
Steigt bis zum Himmel auf, zu deinem Throne,
Herr rede du, gib Seelenruh,
Und nimm mich an in Christo deinem Sohne.
Du bists allein, und solt es seyn
Von Ewigkeit zu allen Ewigkeiten;
Sey du mein Theil, mein Licht und Heil,
Du solt allein mich stündlich führen, leiten.
Sey JESUS, mir des Lebenszier,
Und hilf mir durch dein ewiges Erbarmen,
Ich lass dich nicht, Herr! vor Gericht,
Umfasse mich mit deinen Liebesarmen.

Dis ist der Tag
Der süssen Freude!
Heut schalle laut der Dank empor,
Der starke Gott gebot dem Leide,
Es flohe schnell; -- der Wonne Chor
Schmekt Freyheit ganz der Arbeit Lohn,
Frohlokt und spricht dem Neide hohn.
Dem blassen Neid
Erknirscht die Zähne,
Und fördret seinen Untergang.
Nein, uns erprest er keine Thräne,
Wir singen frohen Lobgesang,
Des stolzen Britten Hohngeschrey
Trift uns nicht länger, wir sind frey.
Er hats gethan,
GOTT aller Götter,
Er brach das feste ehrne Band,
Erzittre sein und unser Spötter,
Ihn preise jauchzend dieses Land
Mischt Engel dort vor Gottes Thron
In diesen euren reinern Thon.

APPENDIX F

Auf den ersten Advents Sontag.
Den 28 November, 1790.

Chor.

Macht alle doch die Thore weit!
Er komt, der HErr der Herrlichkeit.

Recit.

Der Trost erscheint
Für Seelen, die sich satt geweint.
Auf! macht die Thore nur der bangen Herzen
Weit auf! Er bringet Lind'rung aller Schmerzen.
Der Gnaden König ist schon auf der Bahn
Und komt in seiner Huld schon bey euch an.

Aria.

Kehrt denn dieser grosse König
Auch bey solchen Sündern ein?
Ach! ich Wurm bin viel zu wenig,
Ich darf Seiner mich nicht freun;
Sünden Unrath
Hat mein ganzes Herz erfüllt.

Recit. wiederholt.

Aria.

Doch das süste Wort schallt wieder:
Er, der Trost der Welt erscheint.
Mich presst Sünden Last darnieder;
Ich bins der sich satt geweint;
Sünden Bürden,
Drücken mich schwer, wie ein Stein.

Recit.

Er ist das Heil
Der Welt, der armen Sünder Theil.
Wer Sünde fühlt, und sein Verderben hasset,
Der ists, den JEsus heut mit Huld umfasset.
O! hört den Silben Thon, Bedrückte, doch!
Macht alle Thüren diesem König hoch!

Choral.

Wie soll ich dich empfangen --

Auf das Fest der Menschwerdung Jesu.

1790

Solo.

Christus ist geboren!

Recit.

Lauscht! welch ein Schall!
Er komt vom hohen Himmel. Hört die Lieder,
Sie thönen Englisch süss auf uns hernieder,
O, nie gehörter Wiederhall!
Hört, was der Engel sagt
Euch, die der Kummer nagt;
Er predigt laut vor euren Ohren;
Christus ist geboren!
Chorus -- Christus ist geboren!

Ganze Gemeinde.
Frölich soll mein Herze springen u.

Aria.

So sind denn nun die Tage da,
Die Abraham von ferne sah:
Des Weibes Saam' ist und erschienen,
Nun bricht das starke Sünden Band
Durch unsres Königs stärk're Hand,
Wohl uns! wir können Gott nun dienen.

Recit.

Seht! welch ein Trieb
Der unbegreiflich grossen Lieb,
Die uns der Vater hat erzeiget.
Vom Himmel -- seht! der Sohn, Er steiget
Auf unsre Erd' herab
Und gräbt der Sünd' ein Grab.

Tutti.

Er hat mein Fleisch an sich genommen,
Wohl mir, :,: mein Goel ist gekommen!
In einer Krippen find' ich Ihn:
Nichts soll mich dort zurücke zieh'n.
Komt, alle, komt, und schliesst Ihn in die Herzen.
Er heilt die Wunden, lindert alle Schmerzen.
Auf! hört, und fasst das grosse Heil:
Ihr habt durch Ihn am Himmel Theil.

APPENDIX G

Zum 24sten December, 1790.

Liturgus.

FRIED und Freude :,: Christus ist gebor'n!
Chor. Fried und Freude :,: Wir sind auserkor'n,
Gem. Dass wir sollen selig seyn,
Drum singt seine Creutz-Gemein:
Brr. Fried und Freude! Schw. Fried und Freude!
Alle. Christus ist gebor'n!

Chor.

Welch süsser Ton, ... O welch ein süsser Ton,
Du ew'ger Gottes-Sohn!
Dass du im Orhen der Sünder Mensch geworben!
Welch süsser Ton ... erschallt davon.

Gemeine.

Der ganze Himmel freue sich,
Dass GOtt die Menschen liebt:
Frolock O Erde feyerlich,
Dass GOtt sich selbst uns giebt.

Chor.

Die GOttes Seraphim ... erheben ihre Stimm
Mächtig und froh vor Ihm,
Der himmlischen Herrschaaren Klang
Bringt ihrem frohen Lobgesang,
Dem HErrn gross von Gewalt ... in Kinds-Gestalt
Und in den Lüften schallt:

Ehre sey GOtt in der Höhe, und Friede auf Erden, und den Menschen ein Wohlgefallen.

Gemeine.

Ehre sey GOtt in der Höhe!
Ja, Ehre sey dem, dessen Nähe
Uns jetzt mit Fried und Freud erfüllt!
Ehre sey dem Vater Herzen

Das alle unsre Noth und Schmerzen
Durch Seines Sohnes Sendung stillt!
Und Ehre sey dem Geist,
Der JEsu Menschheit preisst
Und verkläret.
Hallelujah! ... der HErr ist da.
Singt Ihm vollstimmig Gloria!

Chor.

Singet dem HErrn, ihr Kinder Zion! Danket, rühmet und lobet. Jauchzet alle vor dem HErrn dem Könige. Denn es hat uns besuchet der Aufgang aus der Höhe. Preiset und rühmet den HErrn immer und ewiglich. Der Himmel freue sich, und die Erde sey fröhlich, dass Er die Leute so lieb hat, und dass Seine Lust ist bey den Menschenkindern zu wohnen.

Alles Land bete Ihn an, und lobsinge Seinem Namen. Denn Er hat grosse Dinge gethan. Selah.

Gemeine.

Anbetung ist der Dank,
Den wir Dir fröhlich bringen.
Da wir -- vor Liebe krank --
Als Bluts-Freund dich besingen:
Ja Leib und Seel und Geist
Singt Dir, Du Menschen-Sohn!
Singe -- dass die Luft Dich preisst --
Mit sanftem Freudenton.

Kinder.

Lift your hearts and voices high,
With Hosannahs fill the sky!
Glory be to God above,
Who is infinite in love,

Peace on earth, good will to men;
Now with us our God is seen.
Angels join his name to praise,
Help to sing redeeming grace.

Gemeine.

All the world exalt the Lord,
Who forever keeps his word,
And revealeth truth and grace:
In his Son, the prince of peace.

Chor.

Seht wie freundlich, wie gnädig, blicket uns das Kindlein an.

Gemeine.

Wie lächelt doch mein JEsulein
So freundlich mir ins Herz hinein!
Das Kindlein in der Krippe da
Ist aller Welten Jehovah!

Chor.

Uns ist ein Kind geboren, ein Sohn ist uns gegeben! welches Herrschaft ist auf seiner Schulter, und Er heisset: Wunderbar, Rath, Kraft, Held, Ewig-Vater, Friede-Fürst. Auf dass Seine Herrschaft gross werde und des Friedens kein Ende.

Gemeine.

Ja Kindelein, Du bist auch mir
Zum Trost und Heil geboren;
Für mich, -- wie beugt es mich vor Dir! --
Zum Schmerzens-Mann erkoren;
Für mich rangst Du in Seelen-Noth;
Und schmecktest blutend selbst den Tod,
Mir Lebens-Kraft zu schenken.
Nun fühlest Du, Immanuel,
Des Herzens heisses Sehnen:
Nun siehest Du die blöde Seel
In ihren Liebes-Thränen;
So gib mir, HErr, Dein ganzes Heil;
Ja sey und bleibe selbst mein Theil;
So bin und bleib ich selig.

Kinder.

I will rejoice in God my Saviour
And magnify this act of love:
I'm lost in wonder at his favor
Which him to leave his throne could move,
To take on him my sickly nature,
To suffer for his wretched creature
Sin's curse and keenest pain,
And death-pangs to sustain,
My soul to gain!

Chor.

Nach Deinem Siege wird Dir Dein Volk willig opfern im heiligen Schmuck.
Heiligt auch ihr Jungfräulein,
Den Bräutigam zu holen ein,
Mit Herzen in Flammen.

Kinder.

Die wahre Gnaden-Sonne
Geht auf zu unsrer Wonne,
Und macht ein Heer von Sündern,
Zu frohen Lichtes-Kindern.

Praise the Lord, for on us shineth
Christ the sun of righteousness;
He to us in love inclineth,
Cheers our souls with pard'ning grace.

Praise the Lord, whose saving splendor
Shines into the darkest night;
O what praises shall we render
For this never ceasing light!

Alle.

Alles sage Amen, den HErrn zu loben
Hier auf der Erd und im Himmel droben,
Was Othem hat.

Amen Hallelujah, ... Hallelujah!
Amen Hallelujah!

APPENDIX H

DANK UND GEBET AM TAGE DER EINWEIHUNG DER DEUTSCH EVANGEL. LUTHERISCHEN KIRCHE IN READING DEN 15 JUNY 1794. VON J. H. CHR. HELMUTH UND AUF MUSIK GESETZT DURCH J. C. MOLLER

CHORUS

Auf, ruhmet den Heyland und preist seine Liebe emp-
'findet der dankbarkeit feurigste Triebe ver-giss nicht O
Reading was Gott an dir that
Auf, ruhmet den Heyland und

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preist seine Liebe emp-findet der Dankbarkeit feurigste
Triebe ver-giss nicht O Reading was Gott an dir that ver-
giss nicht O Reading was Gott an dir that Singt heute vor-

nemlich, ver-bun-de-ne Brüder, dem treuen Erbarmer er-
ha-be-ne Lieder der gnadenvoll heute sich zu euch ge-
naht der gnadenvoll heute sich zu euch ge-naht sich

zu euch ge-naht sich zu euch ge - naht
DUETT
Sey lebendig hier zugegen schaffe deinem Worte Segen
rühre aller Horer Herz rühre aller Horer Herz.
Lass es tiefe Wunden schlagen
stille selbst das laute Klagen lindre du lindre du

lindre du den Sündensmerz lindre du lindre du
lindre du den Sündensmerz,
ARIA
Wohl
mir ich walle nun ge-trost zum Grabe, ein
heller Glanz be-dekt den Pfad, ich

ei-le fort an meinem Pilgrims Stabe, hin
wo mein Freund ge- ru - het hat.
ich wer - de zwar auf
1)
meiner Reis oft matt doch eil ich fort doch
eil ich fort es geht zur Vater Stadt es

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unsrer Mitte
schaffe du der
Lippen Frucht
schaffe du der
Lippen frucht.
Wecke Sunder
aus dem Schlafe
weide Hirte
deine Schaafe
tröste was dich
traurig sucht
tröste was dich
traurig sucht.

Second verse for the chorus:

Er hat euch gesammlet; Er hat euch gebauet;
Seht, wie euch der Segen des Höchsten bethauet:
O, seht ihn, Er warlich ist heute selbst da
Bewillkommt den Bräut'gam mit Thränen der Busse,
Fallt alle voll Liebe ihm glaubig zu Fusse,
Und singet empfindungsvoll Halleluia.

Second verse for the duet:

Jesu Christi Gnade throne
Und die Liebe Gottes wohne
Gnadenvoll an diesem Ort
Die Gemeinschaft und das Trösten
Seines Geists sey den Erlösten
Hier der Pfad zur Himmelspfort.

Second verse for the first aria:

Mein Heyland laechält auf dem schmalen Pfade,
Mich, wenn ich weine, freundlich an.
Er speist und tränkt mich selbst mit seiner Gnade,
Und bricht den stärksten Sündenbann.
Entschlaf'ne Freunde! jauchzt mir zu! O seht!
Ich komme bald, bald hin, wo ihr schon geht.

Second verse for the second aria:

Hier, du Licht der Erden, strale
Bey der Tauf und Abendmale
In die Herzen Gottesheil.
Bey dem Singen, bey dem Beten
Sey, Herr Jesu, dein Vertreten
Aller Seelen bestes Theil.

APPENDIX I

LOBGESANG DER KIRCHE JESU

"Preise Jerusalem den Herrn!"

(An anthem from J. G. Schmauk's Sammlung religioser deutscher Gesaenge, nebst einem kurzen fasslichen Unterricht zum Singen, eingerichtet für oeffentlichen Gottesdienst und Singeschulen, page 2.)

LOBGESANG DER KIRCHE JESU

Allegro Moderato
1st.
2nd.
Bass
Preise Jerusalem den Herrn! Preise Je-
rusalem den Herrn! lobe Zion dei - nen Gott!
lobe Zion deinen Gott! lobe Zion deinen Gott! preise Jerusa-

lem den Herrn, den Herrn! Preise! lobe! lo - be
Zi - on dei-nen Gott! Jünglinge und Jung-
frauen; Al - te mit den Jungen sollen loben, sollen

loben den Namen des Herrn! Die Ge-meine der
Hei-li-gen soll ihn loben, soll ihn loben, soll ihn lo-
ben! Sie sollen loben seinen Namen im

INDEPENDENT MUSIC PUBLISHERS

Reigen, im Reigen, mit Pauken, mit Pauken, und
Harfen sollen sie ihm spielen. Lobet ihn in seinen
Thaten: lobet ihn in seiner grosser Herrlichkeit!

Lobet ihn mit Posaunen; u. Psalter u. Reigen; lobet ihn mit
Saiten und Harfen; lobet ihn mit hellen Cymbeln;
lobet ihn mit wohlklingenden Cymbeln; Alles, was

Odem hat, alles was Odem hat, lobe den Herrn! Halle-
luja! Hallelu-ja! Hallelu- ja Hal - le -
lu - ja.

APPENDIX J

Choral-Buch
für die
Erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung
der
Deutschen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Gemeinen in Nord-Amerika.

Auf Ansuchen des Deutschen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Ministeriums,
herausgegeben
von der Corporation der St. Michaelis-und Zions-Gemeine,
in Philadelphia.

Philadelphia:
Gedruckt bey Conrad Zentler und Georg Blake.

1813

Vorrede.

Wer nur mit einem flüchtigen Blicke den Zustand der Deutschen Evangelischen Kirche, in diesem Abendlande, ansieht, der nimmt mit Erstaunen wahr, wie der Herr dieselbe mit seinem Segen sehr gnädig heimgesucht hat. Es wird eine Kirche nach der andern gebauet, und eine Gemeine nach der andern gegründet; es gehet kein Jahr vorbey, in welchem sich nicht Erscheinungen von der Art dem Auge aufstellen sollten.

Es lässts der Herr auch an solchen nicht fehlen, die sich auf eine eigene Weise seinem Dienste widmen; er erwecket junge Männer, die das Evangelium mit lauterm Sinne predigen, und die mannigfaltigen Heerden des Herrn Jesu auf die Weide des göttlichen Wortes führen.

Nur Eins schien grosses Bedürfniss in unsern gesammten Gemeinen zu seyn: der Gesang, das kräftigste Mittel zur Erbauung in unsern Versammlungen, war sehr mangelhaft; einige hatten diesen, andere einen andern Melodien-Gang; beynahe so viele Gemeinen es giebt, so vielerley Melodien hörte man bey unsern Gottesdiensten; an einem Orte sang man zu schnell, an einem andern zu langsam.

Unser Ministerium dachte schon vor mehreren Jahren darauf, ein Choral-Melodien-Buch insonderheit nach unserm Gesangbuche einrichten zu lassen; es fehlte aber immer an Männern, welche Geschick, Muth oder Willigkeit genug zu diesem Unternehmen hatten, bis eine Gesellschaft der Deutschen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Gemeine in Philadelphia die Arbeit in die Hand nahm, und mit Zuziehung eines Ehrwürdigen, sehr geschickten Musici, unter der Aufsicht der Corporation der gedachten Gemeine, das Werk unternahm, und es nun auch glücklich zu Ende gebracht hat. Wie gesegnet der Erfolg dieser zweijährigen Arbeit in unserer Gemeine gewesen, kann jeder wahrnehmen, der unsern jetzigen Gesang mit dem vorigen vergleichet. Das Buch ist nun fertig, und man wird schwerlich ein besseres von der Art antreffen.

Der Herr lege aus Gnaden seinen Segen auf diess Unternehmen, und erwecke alle gottliebende Männer, welche Einfluss in ihren Gemeinen haben, dass sie dafür Sorge tragen, dass mit Beyhülfe dieser Arbeit der Gesang durchgängig in unsern Gemeinen immer lieblicher und übereinstimmender zur allgemeinen Erbauung möge gefunden werden.

Auf Order der St. Michaelis-und Zions-Corporation
in Philadelphia.

J. Heinr. Ch. Helmuth, President.

Einleitung.

Veranlassung zu der Herausgabe dieses Choralbuchs.

Da man seit der Herausgabe unseres Lutherischen Gesangbuchs die unangenehme Erfahrung machen musste, dass die seit Jahrhunderten in unsern Kirchen eingeführten Choral-Melodien, aus Mangel eines Choralbuches, in der

einen Kirche so, in der andern anders gesungen wurden; und da man ferner wahrgenommen, dass auch manche alte, kraftvolle Melodie hie und da ganz in Vergessenheit kam; und da, ferner, zu einem grossen Theil der Lieder gar keine Melodien vorhanden waren, und folglich dieselben bey dem öffentlichen Gottesdienste nie gesungen werden konnten; so gedachte man, diesem, dem Kirchengesange so nachtheiligen Umstande, durch die Herausgabe diese Choralbuches abzuhelfen.

Wer diese Herausgabe unternommen, und wie.

Um diesen Endzweck zu erreichen, vereinigte sich schon vor mehr als vier Jahren, in Philadelphia, eine Gesellschaft musikverständiger Männer, welche sich bemühte, schickliche, angenehme and leicht einzuführende Melodien zu unserm Gesangbuche auszuwählen und zu sammlen, mit der Absicht, diese Sammlung vielleicht in der Zukunft einmal durch den Druck allgemein brauchbar zu machen, wenn Zeit und Umstände einem solchen Unternehmen günstig scheinen würden. Um sicher hiebey zu Werke zu gehen, hat man diese Melodien, mit dem allhier errichteten Singe-Chor,* immer zuvor geübet, und sie dann erst in der Gemeine eingeführt, welche nun die meisten Melodien, nicht nur richtig und angenehm, sondern auch mit Vergnügen und Erbauung singt.

Anzahl der Melodien und Verfasser derselben.

Die Anzahl dieser Melodien beläuft sich auf ungefähr 270, und diese bestehen theils aus alten Melodien aus Königs Choralbuch und andern; theils aus neuen Melodien, welche aus Gregors, Knechts und Vierlings Choralbüchern genommen sind; theils aber auch aus ganz neuen Compositionen, welche deswegen nothwendig waren, weil die vorhandenen alten Melodien entweder zu schwer einzuführen schienen, oder für das Lied nicht schlicklich waren; oder, weil zu mancher ganz neuen Vers-Art gar keine Melodie vorhanden war.

Einrichtung dieses Choralbuches nach Vers-Arten.

In Betreff der Einrichtung dieses Choralbuches ist nöthig zu bemerken, dass die darin befindlichen Melodien unter gewisse Vers-Arten geordnet sind, so dass alle Melodien, welche zu einer Vers-Art gehören, einerley

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*Anmerking. Ein Singe-Chor, das auch nur die Discant-Stimme singt, und meistens aus weiblichen Stimmen besteht, ist sowohl bey der Einführung neuer Melodien, als auch, wenn man den Kirchen-Gesang im Ganzen verbessern will, unentbehrliches Bedürfniss. Neue Melodien übe man zuvor mit dem Singe-Chor, und lasse dann dasselbe die erlernte Melodie, entweder beym Anfang oder beym Beschlusse des Gottesdienstes,

Sylbenmaass der Strophen haben, und in so fern, mit einander vertauscht werden können. Ein Beyspiel wird dieses am deutlichsten machen. Man schlage auf Pag. 1 bis 4, Vers-Art 2. Hier kommen sieben Melodien vor, welche eine und eben dieselbe Reim- oder Vers-Art haben, und im Anhange kommt noch eine als die achte vor, welche ebenfalls hieher gehört. Diese acht Melodien nennt man Grund-Melodien, weil alle übrigen Lieder, welche zu dieser Vers-Art gehören, nach der einen oder der andern dieser Grund-Melodien, gesungen werden können. Man hat im Register darauf hingewiesen, welche Grund-Melodie zu diesem oder jenem Liede am schicklichsten seyn möchte; ohne jedoch Kunstverständigen dadurch die Hände im freyen Gebrauch der Melodien binden zu wollen; indem solche von selbst wissen, dass z. E. die Melodie: Es ist das Heil uns kommen her u. sich nicht zu dem Bussliede schickt: Herr Jesu Christ, du höchstes Gut.

Von den Vers-Arten und der darin enthaltenen Melodien insbesondere.

Wer die eben angeführte 2te Vers-Art, und die darin enthaltenen acht Melodien genau durchsieht, der wird finden, dass die Anzahl der letztern nicht zu gross ist; theils weil alle jene Melodien längst in unsern Kirchen gesungen werden, und damit sie nicht in gänzliche Vergessenheit kommen möchten, aufgenommen werden mussten; theils weil es schöne kraftvolle Melodien sind, und endlich, weil in unserm Gesangbuche vier und sechzig Lieder enthalten sind, welche alle nach dieser Vers-Art gesungen werden können. Folglich erfordert eine grosse Anzahl Lieder auch eine verhältnissmässige Anzahl Melodien; um so mehr, weil der Inhalt der Lieder unterschieden ist; daher dieses Verhältniss auch in Absicht der Melodien und ihres Characters statt finden muss. Oder kurz zu sagen, es müssen Melodien vorhanden seyn, welche der Anzahl und dem Inhalt der vorhandenen Lieder entsprechen. Diese Bermerkung gilt dann zugleich auch in Absicht aller Vers-Arten. Hiebey ist nur noch zu bemerken, dass manche Vers-Art mit einer neuen schönen Melodie noch vermehrt wurde, und dass man aus eben dem Grunde zu einem einzigen Liede manchmal zwey Melodien, nämlich, neben die alte auch eine neue setzte. Wem diess Ueberfluss dünkt, oder wer nur für das Alte eingenommen ist, und gar nichts vom Neuen hören

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etliche mal mit gemässigter Stimme und in mässiger Bewegung absingen. Die Gemeine hört blos zu, und wird dann erst in der Folge ermuntert, abwechselnd mit dem Singe-Chor die neuer Melodie zu singen. Alte Melodien, welche in den meisten Gemeinen, theils zu schleppend und mit allzu vielen Einschaltungen gesungen werden, werden der Gemeine ebenfalls auf obige Weise nach Vorschrift des Choralbuches vorgesungen. Die Gemeine wird zuvor aufmerksam hierauf gemacht, und dann zum willigen Mitsingen aufgefordert. Da auf dem Lande immer eine geraume Zeit ehe der Gottesdienst anfängt, die Gemeine versammlet ist, so wäre es zur Erreichung jenes Endzwecks gewiss sehr vortheilhaft, wenn jedesmal Alte und Junge sich mit dem Organisten oder Vorsänger vereinigte, eine oder die andere Melodie mit Gefühl und Anstand abzusingen.

will, der beliebe zu erwägen, dass man bey der Herausgabe dieses Choralbuches zugleich mit auf die Singe-Schulen Rücksicht nahm, welche in dieser Sammlung einen reichen Vorrath neuer schöner Melodien finden sollten, die sie nach Belieben, ein-zwei-drey und vierstimmig in der Kirche absingen könnten.

Vom Anhange.

Der Anhang wäre nicht wesentlich nothwendig gewesen. Man fand aber noch hie und da eine schöne neue Melodie, welche man gern mittheilen wollte. Zu welcher Vers-Art jede derselben gehört, ist sowohl in dem Register als auch bey jeder Melodie angezeigt.

Bemerkungen einen schönen Choral-Gesang betreffend, -- hauptsächlich beym öffentlichen Gottesdienste.

Um dieses Choralbuch so vollständig als möglich, und für jederman, der sich desselben als Hülfsmittels zu Erlernung oder Verbesserung des Kirchen-Gesanges bedienen will, desto brauchbarer zu machen, haben die Herausgeber es für zweckmässig erachtet, dieser Einleitung noch einige belehrende Winke über die Natur eines schönen Choral-Gesanges, und die Mittel einen solchen schönen Gesang allgemeiner zu machen, beyzufügen. Es ist hiebey keinesweges ihr Zweck, diesen Gegenstand ausführlich abzuhandeln; denn dazu würden die Schranken einer Vorrede, wenn sie nicht sehr ausgedehnt werden sollte, bey weitem zu enge seyn; sondern sie wünschen bloss einige wenige Bemerkungen zu machen, zu denen ihnen grösstentheils bisher häufig beym Kirchen-Gesange in diesem Lande begangene Fehler, die nächste Veranlassung an die Hand geben.

Der Gesang in der Kirche, oder bey gottesdienstlichen Gelegenheiten, hat zum Zwecke, Andacht hervorzubringen oder zu befördern, und die Seele in eine feyerliche Stimmung zu versetzen, um sie empfänglicher für überirdische Eindrücke und himmlische Empfindungen zu machen. Daraus folgt also ganz natürlich, dass ein solcher Gesang selbst andächtig und feyerlich seyn muss; d. h. er muss langsam und mit gemässigten Stimmen, -- niemals mit leichtsinniger Eile und mit unangenehmem Geschrey -- vorgetragen werden. Wo er Ausdruck der Empfindungen eines frommen, auf Gott gerichteten Herzens ist, da braucht man nicht erst Regeln dafür vorzuschreiben; aber auch solche Leute, welche nicht in dieser Stimmung des Gemüths in religiösen Versammlungen zugegen sind, sollten wenigstens nicht durch unanständigen Gesang eine christliche Versammlung entehren. Singen wir geistliche Lieder, so schickt es sich, dieselben als vor Gottes Augen zu singen. Und wer würde es da nicht fur die äusserste Unschicklichkeit ansehen, in Gegenwart des Ewigen und Allmächtigen, Gebete und Danksagungen an ihn, oder heilige Betrachtungen über seine Liebe, Barmherzigkeit, Weisheit, Grösse, Gerechtigkeit, u. s. w. auf eine leichtsinnige, ungebührliche Weise zu behandeln?

Es wird hiebey kaum einer Erinnerung bedürfen, dass man feyerliche Langsamkeit nicht mit schleppender Leyerhaftigkeit verwechseln muss; eben so wenig als Feyerlichkeit jemals etwas mit Schläfrigkeit gemein hat.

Eine bestimmte Regel lässt sich wohl kaum angeben, wie geschwinde oder langsam eine Choral-Melodie sollte gesungen werden; sondern dieses richtet sich nicht nur nach dem verschiedenen Inhalt der Lieder, sondern auch nach der an einem Orte einmal eingeführten Gewohnheit, und nach der jedesmaligen Empfindungsart einer versammleten Gemeine. In tiefer Trauer wird das Zeitmaass ganz von selbst etwas langsamer werden als bey weniger niedergebeugten Empfindungen; bey hoher Freude wird der Gesang, ohne dass es die Gemeine besonders darauf anträgt, von selbst einen rascheren, feurigeren Gang annehmen, als bey mehr gemässigter Fröhlichkeit. Als allgemeine Regel lässt sich nur dies angeben, dass man allemal das Zeitmaass des Gesanges dem wahren Charakter des Liedes anzupassen suche. Der Vorsänger oder Organist hat es meistentheils gänzlich in seiner Gewalt, das Zeitmaass, in welchem ein Lied gesungen werden soll, anzugeben. Versteht er seine Kunst, so kann er durch die ersten Töne den Charakter bestimmen, in welchem die Gemeine unwillkührlich durch das ganze Lied fortsingen wird.

Etwas zum Choral-Gesange gänzlich unpassendes und ihn ausserordentlich verstellendes, sind Verunstaltungen der Melodie durch Schnörkeleyen und sogenannte Verzierungen. Am allerwiderlichsten klingen dieselben, wenn ganze Gemeinen sich bemühen, sie ihrem Vorsänger nachzumachen, und beynahe keinen Ton der Melodie singen können, ohne demselben vorne und hinten noch einen oder zwey Töne anzuhängen. Ein Organist von gutem Geschmack, darf sich (wenn er nicht befürchten muss, den Gesang seiner Gemeine dadurch zu verderben, und sie zu Schnörkeleyen im Singen zu verleiten,) allenfalls hie und da eine schickliche Tirade, wo sie etwas zur Verschönerung des Ganzen beytragen kann, erlauben, aber niemals der Sänger einer Choral-Melodie. Simplicität ist eine der Hauptschönheiten unsers Kirchen- und Choral-Gesanges, wodurch wir den ursprünglich bey christlichen gottesdienstlichen Versammlungen gebräuchlichen Gesängen noch näher stehen, als irgend eine andere christliche Verfassung, welche anstatt des Choral-Gesanges andere Melodie-Arten eingeführt hat. Je simpler ein Choral gesungen wird, desto schöner klingt er. Es sollte daher beym Singen eines Chorals, wenigstens in der Melodie, keine einige Note gehört werden, die nicht im Choralbuche angezeigt steht.

Finden sich in einer Gemeine Sänger, welche so viel musikalisches Gehör besitzen, um einen richtigen Bass oder eine Mittelstimme zur Melodie singen zu können, so thun sie wohl dieses Talent beym öffentlichen Gesange anzuwenden; denn es verschönert den Gesang der Gemeine ausserordentlich. Nur muss es allemal nach der im Choralbuche vorgeschriebenen Harmonie geschehen, weil sonst, anstatt Wohlklanges, der unangenehmste Uebelklang daraus entstehen könnte. In Gemeinen, wo ein regelmässiges Singe-Chor den Gesang anführt, wird sich von selbst auch die ganze Gemeine nach und nach an einen harmonisch-richtigen Gesang gewöhnen; wo kein solches Singe-Chor vorhanden ist oder sich bilden lässt, kann der Schullehrer, bey

Gelegenheit des Singens mit den Kindern in der Schule, auf mancherley Art dazu beytragen, das bey diesem oder jenem Kinde etwa verborgen liegende Talent zum harmonisch-richtigen Gesange, zu erwecken.

Dem Vorsänger bey einem Gesange, soll die Gemeine nachsingen. Daraus folgt ganz von selbst, dass der Vorsänger sich niemals etwas beym Gesange erlauben darf, was er nicht von der Gemeine nachgesungen oder nachgeahmt zu sehen wünscht. Er muss sich in allen Stücken als das Vorbild der Gemeine im Gesange ansehen, und daher aufs sorgfältigste darauf Acht haben, dass er in jeder Hinsicht ein gutes Muster sey. Er muss daher:

1. Jede Melodie bestimmt, mit klarer (doch ja nicht überlauter) Stimme, und genau nach dem Choralbuche singen, damit die Gemeine jeden Ton deutlich verstehen und ihm ablernen könne.
2. Sich aller Verzierungen und Schnörkeleyen gänzlich enthalten.
3. Die Worte des Textes deutlich, und ohne Hinzufügung fremdartiger Buchstaben, aussprechen.
4. Auf den Inhalt des Liedes Acht haben, um den Gesang zweckmässig, d. h. weder zu geschwinde noch zu langsam, weder zu lau noch zu sachte, anzufangen.
5. In seinen Mienen und ganzem Anstande merken lassen, dass sein Herz und Gemüth mit Andacht erfüllt sind, und dass er sich bewusst ist, vor Gottes Augen seines Dienstes zu pflegen.

Die Orgel soll nicht den Gesang anführen, sondern ihn unterstützen und besser in Ordnung halten; sie ist nicht Meisterin, sondern demüthige Dienerin in Gottes Hause; und das Orgelspiel bey dem Gottesdienste ist nicht Zweck sondern Mittel. Daraus werden in Betreff des Organisten, wo er den Gesang einer Gemeine mit der Orgel zu begleiten hat, folgende Bemerkungen erwachsen, auf welche er wohl zu achten hat.

Alles, was nicht dem jedesmaligen Zwecke der Versammlung angemessen ist, wird sorgfältig zu vermeiden, und nur die zweckmässige Spielart zu erwählen seyn. Der Organist kann daher nicht gut spielen, ohne selbst von der Wichtigkeit des jedesmaligen Zweckes der Versammlung durchdrungen zu seyn. Er darf nach seiner Laune spielen, sondern dem Gefühle muss sein Spiel angemessen seyn, welches die Gemeine bey der vorseyenden Gelegenheit durchgehen soll. Und hierin besteht ein Haupttheil seiner Kunst, dass er hinlängliche Mittel zu seinem Gebote habe, um jedem Zwecke zu dienen. Er muss brilliant spielen können, um die Gemeine in die Stimmung einer feyerlich-jauchzenden Freude zu versetzen; -- er muss sanft klagende Melodien der Wehmuth hervorzubringen wissen, um die Herzen der Gemeine, wenn es erforderlich ist, mit diesen Empfindungen zu erfüllen; -- er muss den Ausdruck der heiligsten, himmlischsten Andacht in Tönen darzustellen im Stande seyn, um die Seelen seiner Hörer durch sein Spiel gen Himmel fortzureissen. -- Sey die Kunst einer Organisten auch gerade nicht sehr gross, sondern im Gegentheil vielleicht nur sehr mittelmässig, und bey weitem nicht im Stande den höchsten Grad des zweckmässigen Spielens zu erreichen, so hat er doch das gemeiniglich in seiner Gewalt, nicht gar zu unzweckmässig zu spielen; z. E. nicht laut zu spielen, wo er sacht spielen

sollte, nicht Laufer und muntere Tiraden zu machen, wo sie nicht hingehören, nicht wehmüthig zu spielen bey einer Gelegenheit wo er fröhliche Gefühle erwecken sollte, u. Mancher Organist trägt mit wenig erlernter Kunst mehr zur Erbauung einer Gemeine bey, als ein anderer mit aller möglichen Gelehrsamkeit des Kopfes und mechanischen Geschicklichkeit der Finger ausgerüstet, wenn er diese nicht am gehörigen Orte anzuwenden versteht.

Es ist vielleicht nicht undienlich aus den vorstehenden allgemeinen Bemerkungen über das Orgelspiel beym Gottesdienste, einige speciellere Regeln zu ziehen und der Aufmerksamkeit der Organisten zu empfehlen.

1. Das Vorspiel, mit welchem der Organist eine Versammlung eröffnet, sollte allemal darauf berechnet seyn, die Empfindungen bey den Hörern zu erwecken, welche ihre Herzen während dieser Versammlung erfüllen sollen, also vor allen Dingen Andacht. Andacht aber hat verschiedene Unterarten, wie, z. E. fröhliche Andacht, wehmüthige Andacht, u. s. w. und das Vorspiel des Organisten muss die Gemeine auf diejenige Art von Andacht vorzubereiten suchen, zu welcher die jedesmalige Versammlung bestimmt ist.

2. Eben dasselbe gilt auch in Absicht auf die kürzeren Vorspiele, welche dem Gesange der verschiedenen Lieder oder einzelnen Verse vorausgeschickt werden; auch diese müssen im Charakter des Liedes oder Verses seyn, welchem sie zur Einleitung dienen sollen.

3. Die Zwischenspiele, zwischen den Zeilen, haben keinesweges zum Zweck dem Organisten Gelegenheit zu verschaffen, die Geläufigkeit seiner Finger zu beweisen; sondern sie sollen einen schicklichen Uebergang von einer Zeile zur andern, und eine Einleitung in den Anfang der zunächstfolgenden Zeile bilden. -- Sie müssen nicht allzu lang seyn, sondern nur den Sängern bequem Zeit verstatten, frischen Athem für die nächste Zeile zu schöpfen. -- Um zweckmässig zu seyn, müssen sie nicht nur zum Total-Charakter des vorseyenden Liedes oder Verses, sondern auch zum Sinn und Ausdruck der vorhergehenden und nachfolgenden Zeile (doch ohne Spielerey) passen. -- Durch wohlgewählte Zwischenspiele, hat der Organist eine unglaubliche Gewalt über den Gesang und die Empfindungen einer Gemeine.

4. Es schadet dem schönen Gesange einer Gemeine, wenn sich ein Organist erlaubt, andere Harmonieen zu den Melodieen zu spielen, als im Choralbuche vorgeschrieben sind. Diejenigen Sänger, welche gern einen Bass oder eine Mittelstimme zur Melodie singen, verlieren entweder durch solche willkührliche Veränderungen den Muth dazu; oder, wenn sie bey ihrer gewohnten Harmonie bleiben und darnach fortsingen, während der Organist eine ungewöhnlichere greift, so giebt dieses natürlich die unangenehmsten Dissonanzen, und zerstört den guten Effect des Gesanges. Der Organist muss daher willig seyn seine Kunst in diesem Theile, um des allgemeinen Besten willen, zu verläugnen.

Schlüsslich fügen die Herausgeber dieses Werkes noch den innigen Wunsch hinzu, dass sowohl das Choralbuch selbst, als auch die eben kürzlich dargelegten Ideen über einen guten Kirchen-Gesang und die vorzüglichsten Mittel dazu, zur Erreichung des Wunsches etwas beytragen

mögen, in allen unsern abendländischen Gemeinen einen gleichförmigen, schönen und dem Herrn wohlgefälligen Gesang bey gottesdienstlichen Versammlungen zu befördern. Der Herr selbst, welchem zu Ehren ja unser Gesang und Spiel in seinem Hause ertönt, segne auch unsere schwachen Bemühungen für diesen wichtigen Zweck, und heilige sich selbst die Gaben und Mittel, welche er einem jeden Mitgliede unserer Gemeinen, zur Beförderung seines Lobes durch Gesang und Spiel, geschenkt hat.

Er wohne unter unsern Lobgesängen,
Die wir hienieden ihm in Schwachheit lallen,
Auch ferner, wie bisher, mit Wohlgefallen: --
Bis unsre Stimmen einst in reinern Chören
Gott und dem Lamm, das uns erkauft, zu Ehren,
Vereint mit dem Gesang von unzählbaren Mengen,
In ew'ger Harmonie mit allen Himmelsheeren,
Entzückt ins "Heilig, Heilig, Heilig," schallen.

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Edward Christopher Wolf, son of Edward Christopher and Helen Marie (Groce), was born July 21, 1932, at Circleville, Ohio. He attended Circleville High School and Capital University, Columbus, Ohio, from which he graduated in 1953 with the degree of Bachelor of School Music. During the winter of 1953-1954 he studied at the University of Birmingham, England, under the terms of a Fulbright grant. Returning to this country in the autumn of 1954, he enrolled at Northwestern University, where he received the degree of Master of Music the following June. From 1955-1957 Mr. Wolf served as a musician and assistant band leader with the 62d United States Army Band, stationed at Ft. Bliss, Texas. In September of 1957 he entered the University of Illinois, where he had received a University Fellowship for graduate study in musicology; during the 1959-1960 academic year he served the University as a teaching assistant in music. Mr. Wolf has accepted a position as an instructor in music history, music appreciation, and brass instruments on the staff of West Liberty State College, West Virginia, for the academic year beginning in September, 1960.